

Newsletter

OF THE AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT



Angel and seraph from murals at Deir al-Fakhoury, Esna Desert. Drawing by Bernard Lenthéric, appearing in Jules LeRoy, "Les peintures des Couvents du Desert d'Esna," Institut français d'archéologie orientale (1975).

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THE SCRIBES OF THE NAG HAMMADI CODICES

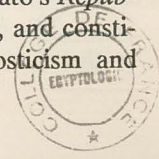
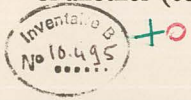
MICHAEL A. WILLIAMS

Editor's note: Michael Williams is Associate Professor and Chairman of the Comparative Religion Program of the Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington. He was an ARCE Research Fellow during the summer of 1987.

In December, 1945, Egyptian villagers of the region of Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt are said to have been digging for nitrates commonly used in that area as fertilizers when they unearthed a jar containing ancient, leather-bound papyrus books, all in the Coptic language. The exact size of the find is not certain since some portion seems to have perished or disappeared prior to the final securing of the collection by Egyptian authorities and its preservation in the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo. The presently preserved collection consists of thirteen books, or "codices," although of one of these (Codex XIII) only the pages of one tractate were actually buried in antiquity, and of another (codex XII) only rather fragmentary remains of

its pages survive, and without its leather cover. With significantly varying degrees of damage, contents as well as the leather covers of eleven other codices survive.¹

The Nag Hammadi codices have proven to be of enormous importance for the study of religions in late antiquity, and particularly for the study of those forms of mystical speculation and religious asceticism in late antiquity known in modern scholarship as "gnosticism." Many of the tractates contained in the Nag Hammadi books are decidedly gnostic in character and now constitute the largest known group of such writings. All, or almost all, of the four dozen or so tractates distributed among the codices are Coptic translations of works originally composed in Greek, with dates of original composition ranging probably (except for a small fragment from Plato's *Republic*) over roughly the first three centuries C.E., and constitute a precious source for the study of gnosticism and related phenomena during this period.



Important as the Nag Hammadi library is for such research, the origins and rationale of the collection itself remain shrouded in considerable mystery. If the books were buried in a jar, by whom were they buried, when, and for what reason? To whom did these Coptic texts belong, how were they acquired, and what interest did their owners have in them? The lack of any archaeological context for the books eliminates what might have been illuminating *in situ* evidence. Our only certain evidence at present is, therefore, the books themselves. And here the evidence can be grouped under three major categories: a) the *contents* of the tractates should tell us something about the interests of the books' owners; b) some of the surviving leather covers still contain fragments of *inscribed papyrus cartonnage* that was pasted into the covers to stiffen them, and these include fragments of letters and other documentary papyri, with names and some dates; and c) there are clues in the physical features of the books, both in the techniques employed in the construction and binding processes (codicological evidence) and in the techniques employed by the scribes responsible for inscribing the Coptic texts (palaeographical evidence).

My current research has been directed toward the last category, particularly the scribal hands. In order to put the preliminary results in context, the following sketch of the first two categories will be helpful.

The Codices' Contents as Evidence

One of the earliest books on the Nag Hammadi find was that of the French scholar Jean Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics* (original French edition in 1958), who had been working at the Coptic Museum at the time that the discovery finally began to find its way into the hands of responsible authorities in Cairo. The title of Doresse's book suggests his general conclusion, based almost entirely on the first category of evidence mentioned above. The gnostic teachings which are so prominent in the collection indicated to Doresse that the books belonged to a gnostic sect, specifically a "Sethian" sect. Some ancient Christian writers speak of the existence of a sect of gnostics called Sethians, and the Nag Hammadi texts do include writings which give a prominent role to the biblical Seth, and/or are pseudepigrapha in his name.

But subsequent research has demonstrated that there are more numerous and nuanced options than that proposed by Doresse. More careful study of the contents of the collection alone has shown that, not only are there many non-Sethian texts present, there are also tractates which are not specifically gnostic by customary definitions. The doctrinal diversity of the collection has created doubts about whether it can be assigned on the basis of its contents to any one of the "classic" gnostic sectarian movements described by ancient heresiologists.

The Cartonnage as Evidence

The study of the cartonnage opened a new chapter in the debate. Cartonnage survives from eight of the

codices (I, IV-IX, and XI), although certainly the most substantial, best preserved, and ultimately most informative cartonnage papyri come from only one codex, VII. In 1975, a preliminary report by John Barns on his study of the cartonnage was posthumously published, and here Barns argued that: a) the specific mention of "monks" (*monachoi*) in two of the letters and the use of typical monastic titles ("brother," "father") in others; b) the presence of early to mid-fourth century C.E. dates on a few of the documents; c) the presence among the texts of a letter fragment to a certain Pachomius from a certain Paphnutius (a Paphnutius was a prominent associate of the famous monastic leader Pachomius); d) the presence of geographical names such as Chenoboskion (where the famous Pachomius had an important monastic settlement); and e) what Barns saw as the "plainly orthodox" nature of the cartonnage documents -- all of this, argued Barns, suggests that the codices were actually produced and possessed, not by a gnostic sect, but by an orthodox Pachomian monastery.²

But what would Pachomian monks be doing with such heretical texts? Already in 1966 at the Messina conference on the origins of gnosticism, Torngy Save-Soderbergh, stressing the previously mentioned doctrinal diversity of the collection, suggested that the library made more sense as a collection used by orthodox heresiologists than one used by gnostics themselves. Barns cited and agreed with Save-Soderbergh, while the latter cited Barns's work on the cartonnage in defending the more specific thesis that the Nag Hammadi texts belonged to the heresy-fighting arsenal of a Pachomian monastery -- a context almost precisely the opposite of that imagined by Doresse.³

Meanwhile, the significance of both the doctrinal diversity in the library and the cartonnage evidence was being interpreted still differently by scholars such as James M. Robinson, who saw in the linkage of the texts to Pachomian monasticism nothing less than a challenge to the notion of the pristine orthodoxy of the earliest Pachomian circles in the first place. According to this approach, such heterodoxy may in fact have been tolerated unself-consciously in early fourth century monastic circles, and only later banned as Pachomian monasticism came increasingly under the doctrinal influence of orthodoxy in Alexandria.

In 1981 the critical edition of the cartonnage papyri, which had been initiated by Barns and, following his death, completed by G.M. Browne and J.C. Shelton, was published with an introduction in which Shelton expressed skepticism about the original evidence that Barns had felt he had seen in the papyri for the Pachomian origins of the manuscripts. Shelton claimed to see nothing certainly Pachomian in the inscribed cartonnage except for the common name Pachomius. And he felt that the variety of documents among the cartonnage in Codex VII, where most of the significant monastic documents are to be found, might best be explained on the basis of their having been gathered from the "town rubbish heap."⁵ On this view, the cartonnage might still help with general dating and geographical location for the bookbinders and scribes

of the codices. We would also see something of their world in the persons, situations, and relationships mentioned in the scrap papyri. But we would not have the advantage that we would have in looking through their *own* trashbaskets.

If Barns had overstated the evidence, Shelton may well have understated it. Nevertheless, the cartonnage in itself so far has not proved to be as decisive as had been hoped in settling the question of the identity of the books' makers and owners.

Codicological and Palaeological Evidence

James M. Robinson has established a sub-grouping of the codices in terms of the construction of their covers and quires, as follows (group labels are mine):

- GROUP A: Codices IV, VIII, and, with slight variations, V
- GROUP B: Codices VI, IX and X, and, in several respects, II
- GROUP C: Codices I, VII, and XI
- GROUP D: Codex III

There are no surviving covers for XII and XIII, although Robinson groups XIII with B on the basis of the similarities in hand with II.

The two most distinctive groups are definitely A and B, and Robinson has argued that the former manifests more primitive, or at least more economical, construction than the latter. He concludes from such evidence of sub-groups that in the Nag Hammadi books we have, as it were, several smaller libraries which were only secondarily combined. There are a few tractates in the collection represented by more than one copy, but no writing would appear more than once in each of the above sub-groupings. Robinson sees this as further evidence that the sub-groups were originally independent.⁶

If this is the case, it is an argument against the hypothesis of Save-Soderbergh and others of an heresiological intent for the books, since they are not as a collection the systematic product of a single scriptorium.⁷

But conclusions based on a codicological typology of the texts must take into account palaeographical analysis. The most recent summary of the discussion of the hands in the Nag Hammadi texts is that of Steve Emmel in a brief, two-page appendix to a 1978 final report on the Nag Hammadi Editing Project.⁸ A chart comparison of Emmel's summary with earlier results is presented below (see Appendix). As far as the distribution of hands is concerned, Martin Krause essentially accepted Doresse's analysis, the major difference being that Krause recognized the identity of the hand in Codex VII with that of the last two tractates in Codex XI. Krause also at first argued for the identity of the hands in II and XIII but later retracted that identification.

In the decade and a half between Krause's analysis and the appendix summary by Emmel, there were significant changes in the picture. Rather than seven or eight

scribes identified by Krause, Emmel reported the more recent view to be that there had been as many as fourteen. The hand of X had been distinguished from the majority hand in I. A second hand, though responsible for only eight lines of text, had been identified on p. 47 of II. And above all, Robinson had reported that Manfredo Manfredi, of the G. Vitelli Papyrological Institute in Florence had concluded on the basis of a "rapid survey" of the hands of IV, V, VI, VIII, and IX, that "only VI and VIII are very similar hands, with IV somewhat less similar to VI and VIII, whereas V and IX are clearly by different scribes."⁹ There the matter of the relation of the hands of these five codices has remained.

By the time of Emmel's report there had been significant development on the question of II and XIII, for Bentley Layton, who had published extensive analyses of one of the tractates in Codex II, including an important study on the orthography and articulation marks in the manuscript,¹⁰ had announced his conclusion that the hand of XIII was (as Krause had originally thought) the same as that of II, although the scribe in XIII wrote with a somewhat more cursive style in copying that codex.

Emmel, therefore, characterized the list of fourteen scribes as the most conservative analysis, tending himself to agree with Layton in identifying the majority hand in II with that in XIII. Emmel further noted that the hand of II 47, 1-8 is "remarkably similar" to that of XII, "but the work of the former is too little (only eight lines of text) to permit a certain identification."¹¹

Thus, there was growing or achieved unanimity on the distinctiveness of certain hands (e.g., III, X, and the majority hand in I), and on the identification of others (I 4 with XI 1-2; VII with XI 3-4). The key uncertainties remaining concerned II and XIII, and sorting out the large group of five similar hands in IV, V, VI, VIII, and IX. In other words, the scribal hands in essentially half the library were still in some question.

Building on the work described above, I spent the 1987 summer analyzing the hands of the entire library, although focusing on areas still most in dispute. I developed a synoptic palaeographic chart illustrating the typical formation of the letters for each of the fourteen cases cited by Emmel. In addition, I gathered data on characteristic articulation marking employed in certain of the codices and the relations among the various systems of such marking represented in the library. Some of these have been individually summarized and discussed by other scholars, but no complete comparison has ever been made, and some previous partial comparisons have contained errors. The following preliminary results can be reported in summary form:

There has been no dispute about the distinctiveness of the hand in III; little remaining doubt about the distinctiveness of the majority hand in I, and the hand in X; and agreement on the identity of I 4 with XI 1-2, and VII with XI 3-4. The palaeographic chart which I am constructing illustrates some of the bases for this consensus. The definitive palaeographical distinction of X from I

harmonizes with Robinson's codicological typology, which groups the cover of X with those of VI and IX.

Robinson's typology is weakest in its evidence for distinctive common characteristics for the covers of I, VII, and XI. On the other hand, it is precisely in these three Nag Hammadi books that one can make a strong case on palaeographic grounds for the close relation among the scribes of the three codices. The principal scribe of Codex I seems first to have copied the *Apocryphon of James* and the *Gospel of Truth* into the book, numbering his pages as he went (and mis-numbering pages 34 and 35 in the process). Ending the *Gospel of Truth* in the middle of p. 43, he left seven further pages blank, beginning the copying of the *Tripartite Tractate* at the top of a new page, which he began numbering again with number 51. At some later time, this scribe decided to copy the short *Prayer of Paul the Apostle* onto the two sides of the front fly-leaf of the codex, which he had previously left blank. Either before or after this last addition, the codex was handed over to a second scribe, who copied the *Treatise on the Resurrection* onto pages 43-50, although this scribe did not bother to fill in the page numbers on pages 44-50. At the same time, the second scribe made at least one correction in the first scribe's work on page 43.

Thus, the order of at least tractates 2-5 in Codex I seems to have been fairly carefully planned. Presumably the first scribe did not have access to tractate 4, the *Treatise on the Resurrection*, possibly because the second scribe was at the time using the exemplar containing that writing to make other copies of that tractate and/or of others in the exemplar. It is even possible, though not provable, that the second scribe was at the time copying tractates 1-2 into Codex XI from an exemplar which also contained I 4. Still a third scribe copied XI 3-4 into that codex. This was obviously done after the work just described (viz., the copying of XI 1-2) yet there is no reason to expect that it was very long afterwards. To the contrary, one would expect that almost half a quire in a bound codex would not be left blank very long. Therefore, the three scribes whose work overlaps in I, VII, and XI seem to have been contemporaries, and close associates.

Though having begun with some prejudice to the contrary, my analysis of the hands of II (excepting 47, 1-8) and XIII led me to the conclusion that they are indeed the same scribe. The close similarity of the hands had been noted at least since Krause's original identification of them. The resistance to their identification has been largely due to some clearly more cursive features in XIII -- especially the fact that a) the *mu* in II is always a block-form μ , while the *mu* in XIII is always a cursive μ ; and b) the *omega* and *shai* in II are always formed with a separate first stroke and no looped center (ω, ψ), whereas in XIII they almost always have a single, looped stroke (ω, ψ). But in fact, there are instances in XIII of exactly the same type of ω and ψ as are found in II (e.g., XIII 38, 27-30 and 39, 8-21, *passim*).

A particularly remarkable feature of Codex II is its elaborate system of articulation marks, and Emmel had

pointed out that XIII shared the same system. However, there has never been a published study of these marks for both codices, nor even for the whole of II. The only thorough analysis is that of Layton,¹² but limited to data in one of the smaller tractates of II, representing only about 7% of the codex. In theory it is conceivable that the scribe would be influenced in the use of articulation marks by patterns in his exemplar(s). And if different tractates in II were copied from different exemplars, a portrait of the scribe's system of articulation that had been based on patterns in only one tractate, one of the smaller ones at that, could be skewed.

Thus, I went through the entirety of codices II and XIII, line by line, making record of every perceptible articulation mark. That data is still not completely analyzed, but the results thus far do show that basic features of Layton's analysis are applicable for the whole of II, although there are significant modifications that have to be made. It can also be seen now that the essential difference in the use of these marks in XIII is only that they are somewhat less frequent. But this can be explained in exactly the same terms as the more cursive features of XIII mentioned above: the scribe was in a bit more of a hurry.

Since the same scribe copied II (most of it) and XIII, we have here the one instance in the Nag Hammadi library where the same tractate was copied twice by the same scribe: *On the Origin of the World* (II 5; XIII 2), though only ten lines remain of the copy of this work in XIII. The two copies are most likely from the same exemplar, though if that is the case, we can see that the scribe did not simply borrow his system of articulation marks from the exemplar. For the two versions of *On the Origin of the World* have only two marks of articulation in common, both on the final *p* in $\rho\omega\omega\iota\varsigma$, one of the scribe's commonest habits. Even these two marks are shaped differently in the two copies. There are at least four places where II contains articulation marks in this passage and XIII does not, and there are three further differences in orthography, all of this within the space of about ten lines. Given the evidence now compiled from the rest of these two codices, the best explanation for these differences is not separate exemplars, but the degree of freedom in the use/non-use of articulation marks which the scribe manifests elsewhere.

Finally, there is the question of the large group of similar hands in IV, V, VI, VIII, and IX. I have now established that these are definitely the work of five different scribes. At the same time, it can be seen from data which I have collected that Manfredi was in error in his much-quoted remark that the greatest similarity existed between VI and VIII -- a judgement which, in fairness, had the advantage of only a rapid survey of the manuscripts. When Robinson published his codicological studies of these codices, he cited Manfredi's results in partial support, for they at least shook apart the Dorese-Krause model of a single scribe for the five codices, five books which Robinson now grouped into two distinct codicological types. But Manfredi's singling out of VI and VII as the most similar

of the five hands had the effect of blunting, to some degree, the match between palaeographical and codicological patterns for VI and VIII were from different codicological sub-groups.

But the evidence I have now gathered reveals that, once one recognizes that these are five different hands, the most striking similarities to be found are between the hands of IV and VIII on the one hand, and between VI and IX on the other! These similarities suggest shared patterns of training rather than the identity of the scribes. In other words, among these five similar hands, whose overall similarity is also to be explained in terms of school tradition, I have traced a further sub-grouping in scribal techniques that happens to match Robinson's sub-grouping on the basis of the covers. This palaeographical sub-grouping is established not only on the basis of letter-shapes, but also on the basis of systems of articulation marks which differ in the sub-groups.

Preliminary Conclusions

As I write this preliminary report, there is still further work remaining to be done in Egypt, as well as aspects of the research and analysis that can only be done after I return to library resources in the States. But I offer here a tentative projection of some of the larger implications:

It seems clear that what we now call the Nag Hammadi Library grew in stages. Some of these stages we may still not be able to put in order, but we do seem to be in a position to construct hypotheses for a relative order for others.

Codices IV, VIII, and V, on the one hand, and VI, IX, and X, on the other, form two distinct sub-groups which have now been strongly confirmed by palaeographical analysis. At the same time, they are related to one another (except for X) in terms of scribal training. The palaeographic typological differences which I have established between the two groups are without question best explained by assuming that the patterns in VI and IX are a development *later* than those in IV and VIII. This parallels Robinson's interpretations of the covers of VI, IX, and X as a technologically more advanced group. Therefore, I would suggest that we can view IV and VIII as the oldest "core" in this part of the library, with V revealing changes in scribal technique in the direction of the patterns in VI and IX.

A scribal colophon in Codex VI reads as follows: "I have copied this one discourse of his. Indeed very many have come to me. I have not copied them because I thought that they had come to you (pl.). Also, I hesitate to copy these for you because, perhaps, they have (already) come to you, and the matter may burden you, since the discourses of that one, which have come to me, are numerous" (VI 65, 8-14). If, as seems probable, these are our scribe's words and not the colophon of some previous scribe which he has copied from the exemplar, then we learn that a) the scribe is making Codex VI for someone else; that b) he is not certain at the moment of the extent of their library, and is therefore presumably at some geo-

graphical distance; that c) he has been selective in choosing for VI from a considerable quantity of available works; and that d) he assumes his recipients have many of the other works already. The plural "you" suggests a community as the recipient.

Since IV, V, and VIII all ended up in the same hands as VI, and were produced by scribes of a generally similar training, all five books may have been sent, over a period of time, from one community to another. Or, it is possible that some of these five were produced by scribes within the "target" community VI mentions; in this case, scribes in the two communities will have had the same or similar training. Is this in fact the explanation for the two different codicological types (i.e., the similarly constructed codices IV, V, and VIII were produced by the community to whom VI and IX were sent)?

The four other groupings in the collection are a) II and XIII; b) I, VII, and XI; c) III; and d) XII. Robinson grouped II (and XIII) with VI, IX and X on the basis of some similarities which its leather cover shares with the covers in that sub-group. Its scribal hand, however, reflects a quite different training from VI and IX, though this is also true for X. And the case of the overlapping scribes in I, VII, and XI, who have such different hands, is evidence that scribes with very different training and techniques sometimes worked together, even on the same codex. For that matter, within the text of II, the "relief" scribe who copied only the first eight lines of p. 47 (Why did he stop? Why was he called in to help in the first place?) is clearly not a pupil of the principal scribe, nor bothers to imitate the latter's technique. The relief scribe's hand is more like, though definitely not the same as (this possible identification should now be removed from Emmel's list) those in XII and X. The principal hand of II and XIII evidently had at least this one associate who had had a somewhat different scribal education.

Would the scribe of II and XIII have made both codices for the same recipient, given the duplication involved in the tractate *On the Origin of the World*? Yet, the two did after all wind up together through some process. Or more precisely, one tractate removed from XIII did finally end up in the same collection as Codex II, and had been inserted inside the front cover of Codex VI at or prior to the time of the burial of the library -- probably earlier, since room even seems to have been made for its extra bulk by the removal of cartonnage from the front cover of VI.¹³ It seems hard to imagine that an owner of XIII will have, in the process, truncated the tractate *On the Origin of the World* in that codex, unless the owner also had another copy of this tractate (the handsomer, less hastily produced copy in II?). Why an owner of II will have come into possession of XIII (surely it was not custom-ordered) cannot be determined with any certainty.

It is possible that some of the expansion of the library resulted from the addition of new members to the community who brought with them some of their own books to be pooled with the existing collection. The contents of such books may have included duplicates to the works already possessed by the community. In other

cases, a book already in circulation may have been purchased from someone outside the community. One of these two seems the best explanation for how a codex like III, containing no fewer than three duplicates of the contents of IV and V, ever came to be collected with the latter. Given the *amount* of duplication in a case like this, the acquisition by "gift" from a new member (how much would one pay for so redundant an addition?) seems most probable.

Although we are not in a position to reconstruct with any confidence all of the stages that led to the final collection, the patterns of distinct sub-groups within the collection (now more clearly and surely defined); the explicit evidence in the colophons in Codex VI that the scribe is compiling new reading material for another community; the implicit evidence that the scribe of II and XIII is doing the same; and the pattern of overlapping contents within the collection -- all of this suggests that the accumulation of the Nag Hammadi Library is an example of a kind of "commerce" in *esoterica*, answering the sharp appetite for such literature in late antique Egypt which, for example, Garth Fowden has recently characterized.¹⁴

Notes

1. See *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, Published Under the Auspices of the Department of Antiquities of the Arab Republic of Egypt, in Conjunction with UNESCO (Leiden: Brill, 1972-84); for English translations of the texts, see James M. Robinson, editor, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (Leiden and New York: Brill and Harper and Row, 1977); for extensive bibliography, see David M. Scholar, ed.; *The Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1948-69*, NHS 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1971), updated annually in *Novum Testamentum*; for background on the preservation of the manuscripts, see Stephen Emmel, "The Nag Hammadi Codices Editing Project: A Final Report," *ARCE Newsletter* 104 (1978): 10-32.
2. John Barns, "Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Covers of the Nag Hammadi Codices: A Preliminary Report," in *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Pahor Labib*, ed. Martin Krause, NHS 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 9-18, with an important supplemental note by E. G. Turner.
3. Torgny Save-Soderbergh, "Holy Scriptures or Apologetic Documentation? The 'Sitz im Leben' of the Nag Hammadi Library," in *Les textes de Nag Hammadi: Colloque du Centre d'Histoire des Religions* (Strasbourg, 23-25 Octobre 1974), ed. Jacques-E. Menard, NHS 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 3-14.

4. See Robinson's "Introduction" to the *Nag Hammadi Library in English* (above, n. 1).
5. J. W. B. Barns, B. M. Browne, and J. C. Shelton, eds., *Nag Hammadi Codices: Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Cartonnage of the Covers*, NHS 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), p. 11.
6. See *The Facsimile Edition* (above n. 1), Introduction volume, p. 86.
7. Cf. Frederik Wisse, "Gnosticism and Early Monasticism in Egypt," in *Gnosis: Festschrift fur Hans Jonas* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), p. 435.
8. Emmel, op. cit. (above, n. 1), pp. 27f.
9. James M. Robinson, "On the Codicology of the Nag Hammadi Codices," in *Les textes des Nag Hammadi* (see above, n. 3), p. 18.
10. Bentley Layton, "The Text and Orthography of the Coptic Hypostasis of the Archons," *Zeitschrift fur Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 11 (1973): 190-200
11. Emmel, op. cit. (above, n. 1), pp. 27f.
12. Above, n. 9.
13. James M. Robinson, "Inside the Front Cover of Codex VI," in *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts* (see above, n. 2), p. 83.
14. Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

APPENDIX:

EARLIER APPROACHES IN THE ASSIGNMENT OF THE SCRIBAL HANDS OF THE NAG HAMMADI TEXTS

Doresse	Krause	Emmel
I 1-3, 5; X	I 1-3, 5; X	I 1-3, 5
I 4; XI 1	I 4; XI 1-2	X
II	II	I 4; XI 1-2
	Krause 1962	Layton
XIII	XIII	II (except 47,1-8)
III	III	XIII
IV, V, VI, VIII, IX	IV, V, VI, VIII, IX	III
		IV
		?? V
		Manfredi ? VI
		VIII
VII	VII; XI 3-4	IX
XI 2-4		VII; XI 3-4
XII	XII	XII
		Emmel ? II 47, 1-8

From the preface of a recent library acquisition:

"To what extent the above reflects the truth can be easily evaluated by defective readers."

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA EXPEDITION TO MARSA MATRUH 1987

DONALD WHITE

A second season of investigation and excavation took place at Marsa Matruh between June 4 and July 17, 1987 under the sponsorship of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Led by Professor D. White, the team numbered eight. Trench supervisors were D. Conwell, E. Gieringer, R. Green, and A. Shaheen. J. Thorn served as architect, S. Tyiska as conservator, and L. Hulin as pottery consultant. Photographs were taken by the director.

Many thanks are due to persons in Egypt for whatever success was achieved during the season. First and foremost must be mentioned Dr. Ahmed Kadry, Chairman of the EAO, Dr. Ibrahim el Mawawy, its General Director of Antiquities Services, and Dr. Kamal Fahmy, the General Director of the Inspectorates and Excavations of the Western Delta region, whose constant encouragement and support made our work possible. I should also like to add our thanks to Mr. Fouad Yakoub for his help in obtaining the necessary security clearances. In Marsa Matruh Mr. Faisal Asmawy provided the mission with every possible assistance throughout our stay, and it is therefore a special pleasure to thank him here. Finally, I would like to register the expedition's sincere gratitude to our inspector, Mr. Tarek Mohamed Farid, who oversaw with particular sensitivity and care our daily operations in the field.

The principal objectives established for this season prior to its commencement were four in number. The first was to complete our investigations of the Late Bronze Age (LBA) levels of the small island located at the east end of Matruh's first eastern lagoon, otherwise known as Bates' Island from the name of its first discoverer. The second was to relocate the supposed Bronze Age Libyan cemetery on the crest of the "Great Ridge" to the SE of the modern town (Area VI, Fig. 1). The third was to search the lagoon system that lies east of the main East Lagoon for traces of additional LBA settlements. The assumption here was that, in addition to Bates' Island, the higher water levels in the 2nd millennium B.C. might have transformed other rocky out-croppings into protected islands within the lagoon system. It was, moreover, further assumed that these may have attracted additional settlements of foreign mariners bent on utilizing the Matruh area for trade and resupply of food and water. The fourth and last objective was to search for traces of the seasonal encampments of the LBA Libyans thought to have settled on the coastal zone near Bates' Island during the warmer, drier months.

While all of these objectives were achieved to various degrees, an unexpected delay in receiving security

clearance permitted the expedition to devote the first half of its stay to carrying out a thorough evaluation of the 1985 finds. In particular, this gave Mrs. Hulin the opportunity to work through the opening season's coarse ware pottery, which makes up the largest and to some extent most significant body of artifactual evidence for the island's LBA occupation. This in turn allowed us to reshape our strategy for excavating the island when the time arrived to start the actual fieldwork.

In addition to the concentrated study of the pottery wares and the excavation and reconnaissance directed elsewhere, the expedition undertook to draft the architectural features atop the north end of the Area II rock out-cropping due east of the island as well as the hill north of the island incorporated into the eastern coastal ridge system (Area V). Both sets of features have been described in the 1985 season's report scheduled for publication in the *Journal for the American Research Center in Egypt*. The Area II features have to do with a water collection system, while the Area V remains seem to embody a chapel.

Area II Cisterns

Little needs to be added to the remarks already registered in the '85 report for the squared and circular rock-cut tanks atop the northern tip of Area II other than the fact that they seem to have been part of some larger installation of presumably Roman date that once spread across the sandstone hill separating the main East Lagoon from the second, shallower lagoon directly to the east. Water must have been collected from the flat roofs or open courts of nearby structures that are now entirely demolished. While no trace of the latter buildings is preserved amongst the broken rock debris strewn over the hill crest, they may have been more industrial than residential in nature, since the feeder channels leading into both tanks drain *away* rather than *toward* the tanks. This suggests that their contents were originally released by sluiceways, no longer preserved, for use in washing or dyeing operations elsewhere on the hilltop, just to name a couple of obvious possible non-residential uses for water.

Our reason for drafting what are otherwise minor remains arose from the fact that plans were already advanced for covering Area II with modern housing before the arrival of the Pennsylvania expedition. Once the drawing of the cisterns had been completed Mr. Faisal Asmawy received our approval to permit this construction to proceed following the conclusion of the '87 fieldwork.

Area V "Church"

A glance at the Area V plan will indicate how its principal architectural feature is a small apsidal-ended chamber embedded in the eastern half of the hilltop complex. Overall, this structure reflects a neatly rectangular plan, with the apsidal-ended chamber approximately centered on its long axis. Traces of a low stuccoed bench run down the two long sides to return at the west to flank a door leading into what may have been an hypaethral court. No traces of color appear anywhere on the bench or on the surviving stumps of the walls of the peripheral rooms that all appear to have been plastered. A low rectangular dais with sloping footrest occupies the center of the apse. Painted red, the upper surface of the dais preserves traces of four squared sockets that must have carried the wooden feet of a table or chair. The other surviving architectural feature of note is a pair of L-shaped stone doorjambs preserved at threshold level at the opposite, western end of the central court.

Crudely made steps that lead up the eastern face of the hill gave access to the apsed room at some indeterminate late period in the latter's history. The steps are built over collapsed debris that in turn covers the stripped-out south wall of the apse-proper. This makes it clear that the steps post-date the primary building phase of the hill-top complex. The outline of a collapsed round tower that probably belongs to the same late period covers the southern half of the apsed room and the room(s) to its immediate south.

No excavation was undertaken of the Area V complex apart from cleaning the surface debris away from parts of its more exposed walls (here drafted in solid black). Consequently, no stratified finds were brought to light to account for its date. On the other hand, numerous surface sherds litter its hilltop and adjacent slopes. A representative number are later Roman period corrugated coarse ware sherds that are elsewhere assigned dates of anywhere from the second to the fifth century A.D. I am not sufficiently familiar with the design of early Christian churches of this region to say if an elevated throne can take the place of an altar. I say "throne" instead of "altartable" because of the apparent presence of the sloping footrest. The truncation of a standard nave by cross-walls halfway down its length also seems unusual for a conventional church. On the other hand, the cross-axial placement of rooms at the west end seems reminiscent of some kind of narthex arrangement.

If "kneeling-pad" could be substituted for "footrest," then perhaps a small chapel represents a reasonable guess for what we have here. The outer walls do not seem to be thick enough to identify the overall monument as a "fortified church" of the kind familiar from neighboring Cyrenaica where the rural churches were converted into strongholds against tribal attack during the disturbed years of the fourth century and later. The apsidal-ended chamber could have served as a chapel element by itself, leaving the rest of the complex to be used for other more secular purposes.

After drawing its exposed walls, the expedition partially reburied the Area V walls to protect them for future excavation, which they clearly deserve.

Bates' Cemetery (Area VI)

As part of our announced plans for 1987, time was spent to relocate the small burial ground found by Oric Bates in 1914 on the ridge SE of Matruh. Of his five tombs -- crude cists sunk into the rocky pavement to depths of only 30 to 40 cm. -- only two contained skeletal remains. They also held a limited variety of stone and terracotta vessels along with shells. This latter material was reportedly sent to the Peabody Museum of Harvard University but has been subsequently mislaid. The vessels were shown by Bates to Flinder-Petrie, who agreed with his judgement that they had been made by the early Libyans. Since Bronze Age Libyans appear to have been the exclusive trading partners with the 14th century B.C. occupants of Bates' Island, the expedition had been particularly eager to follow up Bates' work on the ridge cemetery.

Unfortunately, every effort failed to reveal any secure vestige of Bates' tombs. We were, moreover, unable to recover any new burials. Of the various sites picked for investigation, the one conforming perhaps most closely to Bates' description was covered with a large number of modern bedouin burials that made systematic excavation virtually impossible. Since most of the ridge slope has been surveyed for housing development and will be obliterated in a year's time, the 1914 cemetery may have been permanently lost.

Lagoon Basin Reconnaissance

A survey of all of the important natural eminences projecting above the floor of the three major lagoon basins stretching east of Area II turned up two significant pieces of information. The first is that no traces of foreign LBA occupation are to be readily found off Bates' Island, including the nearby Area II ridge. This absence of Cypriot and other eastern Mediterranean BA pottery remains can be interpreted in one of two ways. It could indicate that we have tended to *over-estimate* the height of the LBA water level and have therefore *under-estimated* how uniquely isolated Bates' Island was by its insular setting during this period. In other words, our island may have been, in effect, the only water-protected site available for settlement during the later second millennium B.C. as opposed to being simply one of a cluster of such sites. Alternatively, it could mean that whatever other LBA settlements existed in the general region of Matruh were established on the shore opposite the harbor mouth rather than on high ground trapped in the lagoons east and west of the harbor. With the shore zone today covered by the modern town, these settlements are no longer available for study. Some fresh evidence, however, has been generated on the island to support the view that the LBA water level was at least a meter higher than it is today, which makes the second alternative more acceptable than the first.

The second important fact to emerge from the lagoon survey is that a significant number of basin hillocks that might have been isolated, protected "islands" during the LBA possess surface concentrations of a handmade incised pottery that is distinguished by its numerous inclusions or grits of shell and stone. Unrelated to "modern" pottery from either Matruh or Siwa, this ware appears to make use of the natural clay sources found at the wadi heads in the area around Agiba beyond Umm El Rakham (the furthest point west surveyed by the expedition). Two concentrations of the grit pottery were found on the large hill that rises off the flat land between Area II and the second eastern lagoon. Another was located on the slope of a smaller hill east of the latter lagoon. Designated Areas VII, VIII, and IX, all three sites are characterized by sandy, protected terrain settings established slightly below the exposed rocky crests of the hill formations but apparently deliberately placed within sight of Bates' Island. A fourth similarly protected sandy campsite littered with handmade grit ware was discovered on the northern tip of Area II within easy viewing distance of Bates' Island. Scatters of identical pottery are also found in surface pockets over the "great ridge" in the presumed vicinity of Bates' Cemetery, again in visual contact with the island roughly a mile and a half to the NW. Lastly, the large wadi at Agiba west of Umm El Rakham and the neighboring large wadi to its immediate east produced small surface accumulations of the same ware at their heads and in sandy spots along their drains.

There exists so far no secure way to date this pottery. It certainly was not produced in the last hundred years but must be instead at least Roman in date, since one sherd was excavated in a definitely pre-Islamic level in 1985 on Bates' Island, which has otherwise produced only sparse amounts of the ware in surface or post-antique contexts. It could be significantly earlier and yet matches nothing known from Cyprus, pharaonic Egypt or, so far as we can determine, the ancient Levant. Our intuition is that the grit ware is early and that it is Libyan in origin. Whether it could be LBA is impossible to say at this stage (here one may especially regret the loss of Bates' Cemetery and its ceramic grave goods). Its generally primitive character is appropriate for a Bronze Age ceramic; its occurrence on sandy, partially concealed hillslopes within eyesight of Bates' Island makes it the best candidate for the sort of pottery that the Libyans pastoralists might have left in their seasonal campsites when they were trading with the islanders (14th century B.C.) and were later allied to the islanders' "Sea-People" successors (13th century and later). Only additional research can make such a connection definite.

Island Excavation

In the main, the post-BA levels of island occupation that include the Archaic Greek period, the later Classical through Hellenistic Greek periods, the Roman Imperial, and the 17th and 18th century Arab periods excavated in 1985 were de-emphasized during the present season. In

practical effect this meant that we deliberately avoided the sections of the island containing late wall remains and concentrations of post-BA artifacts in order to concentrate on the earlier phase of island occupation. Specifically this involved digging the island's longitudinal spine south of Bates' sponge-divers' house and the S102 BA structure excavated in gridsquare E4-III during 1985. Excavation was in addition extended south to include the zone of what Bates called the "tomb of the Jew" in gridsquare D4-I. In a more exclusively negative sense it meant keeping away from the deep fill on the protected eastern slope of the island where 1985's G6-I trench had led us to expect few if any BA finds. In addition to excavating south of the sponge-divers' house, we also tested the sloping ground to the NE where a descending series of three trenches -- H5-I-II, I6-I/II, and J8-I/II respectively -- were opened down to the island's tip.

The strategy underlying this series of NE trenches was two-fold. The reason for H5-I/II was straightforward: the sponge-divers' house in 1985 had produced our largest number of LBA fine wares (e.g. Cypriot White Slip and Base Ring) without, however, bringing to light any BA walls. Trench H5 might therefore be expected to produce walls. The purpose behind opening the remaining two trenches arose from slightly different considerations. Much has been made of the fact that the 2nd millennium B.C. water level may have been as much as a meter or more higher than it is today, while during Roman times the "island" seems to have been joined to the shore by a land bridge. Trench I6 was opened at an average a.s.l. elevation of three m. and trench J8 at ca. 0.75 m. a.s.l. Their purpose was simply to demonstrate either the existence or absence of stratified LBA materials at their respective levels in order to locate the elevation of the LBA beach.

Without a full range of photographs, sections, and 1:20 scale plans whose completion must await our return to Philadelphia, it would seem otiose to undertake a detailed description of the walls and accompanying stratigraphy to emerge from the above-listed trenches. I will instead simply summarize their more important features and defer full discussion to the season's report that will be submitted to the editors of the *ARCE Journal* at a later date.

NE Sector: Trenches I6 and J8

The lowest or most northeasterly of the two trenches, J8-I/II, brought to light well-preserved wall remains and extensive traces of flooring that belong to the island's Roman period occupation. No evidence was recovered for LBA occupation, meaning that the lagoon water during the 14th century was in all probability between 0.75 and 1.00 m. above its present level.

Trench I6-I/II tells a different story. Empty of much in the way of built architectural features of any period, its lower half that falls off to the west appears to have contained a thin LBA occupation level at an elevation of ca. 2.70/2.80 m. a.s.l., although more study will be necessary before a final decision can be reached about this

matter. For now it seems likely that the island's LBA beach lay between 2.75 and 1.00 m. above the present sea level.

Trench H5-I/II

The large trench to the immediate N, NE of the sponge-divers' house indeed contained important LBA remains, including at least two sets of walls (S118 and S121). Its sequence of deposits help to illustrate its history.

- | | | |
|-----|---------------|---------------|
| 1.1 | Modern period | |
| 2.1 | Islamic | |
| 2.2 | Islamic | |
| 2.3 | Islamic | = H5-I (west) |
| 3.1 | LBA | |
| 3.2 | Roman | |
| 4.1 | LBA | |
| 4.2 | LBA | |

- | | | |
|-----|---------|----------------|
| 1.1 | Modern | |
| 2.1 | Islamic | |
| 3.1 | Roman | |
| 3.2 | LBA | |
| 3.3 | " | |
| 4.1 | " | |
| 4.2 | " | = H5-II (east) |
| 4.3 | " | |
| 4.4 | " | |
| 5.1 | " | |
| 5.2 | " | |
| 5.3 | " | |
| 5.4 | " | |
| 6.1 | " | |

The important features to emerge from the trench were its well-made wall (S118), its thick 2.1 layer of snail shells associated with the occupants of the nearby sponge-divers' house, an accumulation of animal bones in the LBA levels across the trench's eastern half, the presence of numerous heavy pithos fragments of LBA Cypriot origin again in the eastern half, and finally its fragments of what can be securely identified as LBA crucibles with globules of bronze still adhering to their inner surfaces.

Wall S118 at three courses' height is the island's best preserved stretch of BA architecture. The animal bones and massive, unwieldy ceramic storage containers (for grain or water?) provide powerful arguments for regarding the island BA occupation as something more permanent than the mere chance stopping-off point for itinerant mariners, while the crucible fragments confirm the theory already put forward that bronze tools and weapons must have been made on the island for exchange with the native element. A bronze lance or arrow head from trench H5 and a large bronze needle from trench D4-1 represent the sorts of relatively uncomplicated trade items that could have been cast on the island for just this purpose.

Spine Zone South of the Sponge-Divers' House

Trenches F5-I, E4-II, and D4-1 were opened in order to join BA structures already known to exist from 1985 and to extend the clearance both north toward the sponge-divers' house and south in the direction of the supposed tomb of the Jew. The architecture brought to light provided too complex a spread of walls to describe in detail in this kind of report. The following aspects of their plan are, however, worth noting. 1985's small S107 structure, with its well-preserved oven, and the S102 building found to its south (in trenches F4-III and E4-III respectively) can now be seen to have been linked by a sloping stone ramp. The ramp's western curb is relatively intact, while its eastern edge has been pushed over by the post-BA occupants, who must have also removed entire sections of the ramp's northern and southern extremities to supply stone for their own building. Pirating of stone in fact appears to have been a more or less universal practice in every subsequent phase of the island's long occupation down to the present when hunters routinely rob stones from the sponge-divers' house for their duck blinds. The process is abetted by the island's lack of deep fill. A short run of large plug-shaped stones west of S102 has the appearance of an Archaic Greek period wall, but the identification thus far cannot be confirmed by the associated stratigraphy.

The southernmost trench, D4-I, was laid out to test the area which, according to Oric Bates, local tradition attributed to the final resting place of a pair of Jewish brothers said to practice goldsmithing in the olden days. Predictably enough, traces of their burial failed to materialize. Instead, the vestiges of two walls making up a small chamber came to light in what is clearly a LBA context that included amongst its finds a relatively large quantity of bronze nodules, slag, broken nails or pins, and the large bronze needle mentioned above. It also contained the largest single concentration of White Grit sherds attributed by Mrs. Hulin to the LBA Libyan population, whose presence on the island is otherwise best attested by the numerous ostrich egg fragments found throughout its early levels both in 1985 and this past summer. While surely only a coincidence, the bronze detritus is especially intriguing in light of the area's legendary association with Jewish, i.e. "foreign" metalworkers.

Bronze Age Pottery

I will conclude this section of the report by quoting from Mrs. Hulin's preliminary report on the '87 season's pottery.

"Secure LBA levels were identified in H5-I/II and D4-I/II; the E4-II/E W Baulk, E4-II/E, E4 Centre and E4-III W Baulk group produced very high (usually over 90%) proportions of LBA material but cannot be regarded as ceramically 'pure'. As in the pottery from the 1985 season, Cypriot wares predominate and, with the exceptions noted below, maintain the fine/coarse ware ratios (i.e. 1:5) consistent with a ceramically self-supporting community.

H5-I/II:

Both squares yielded mixed Islamic, Roman and LBA pottery in the upper levels. The latest LB activity is marked by Pit 2.2 in H5-I and Pits 3.2 and 3.3 in H5-II. In other words, the transition to LB lies within 2.1 in H5-I and 3.1 in H5-II.

Two points should be noted about H5-II. One is the presence of a WSII A milk bowl in 4.1. This is the earliest WS sherd but does not significantly alter the dating of the site. The second is the extremely high percentages of Cypriot coarse wares found in levels 4.1 down, especially strata 4.4 and 5.1 (95% and 91.5% respectively). Most of the coarse wares belong to the larger vessels -- pithoi and large multi-handled bowls.

D4-I/II:

The significant BA levels in D4-I/II are 2.1, 2.2, 3.1, and 4.1. Three Roman sherds were found in 3.1/4.1; these are not stratigraphically significant. The expected ratio of Cypriot fine-to-coarse wares was maintained. This is also true of the E4-II/E, E4-II/E W Baulk, E4 Centre and the E4-III W Baulk group.

Non-Cypriot Imports:

A total of 11 Mycenaean sherds were found, only 3 from a stratified context (H5-II 3.1). Only 3 Minoan sherds were found, all from disturbed contexts. These do not furnish evidence for direct or sustained ceramic contact between Greece, Crete, and the island.

Eight fragments of Canaanite jars were found, all from surface contexts.

Five Egyptian sherds were found, all from insecure contexts (E4-II/E 1.1 and E4 Centre surface).

Local White Grit ware was found in all secure LBA contexts, especially in D4-I/II 3.1 (52% of the total). White Grit also occurs in significant quantities in the E4 group.

BA Pottery Conclusions:

There is a clear functional differentiation between the pottery from H5-I/II and the southern ridge of the island. Apart from the 33 Mycenaean sherds from H5-II 3.1, H5-I/II yielded mainly Cypriot pottery that consists of a significantly higher percentage of very large coarse wares. A small number of White Grid sherds was found, significantly of larger vessels. While the expected fine/coarse ware ratio of Cypriot pottery was maintained on the southern ridge of the island, significant quantities of local pottery were also found there. The corpus of White Grit shapes has been expanded to embrace medium-sized jars (in 1985 only an open bowl was found).

A coarse handmade pottery was found in I8-I/II 2.2 and 2.3. This is clearly of local manufacture, although it may well be of Roman rather than indigenous manufacture. A sherd of this type was found in H5-II 3.1; unfortunately this is a collapse locus.

The White Grit ware from secure LBA contexts has not been found on the mainland." [End of Hulin Report]

Future Plans

The excavation of Bates' Island is concluded with this season. I plan to submit a request to the Egyptian Antiquities Organization to permit a short research season in 1988. The staff will consist of no more than five persons and will include Mrs. Hulin and the present writer. The bulk of the processing will be directed to weighing the '87 pottery and checking its Munsell Chart color values. Time permitting, a reconnaissance of the wadis west of Matruh will be undertaken in order to search for additional traces of LBA Libyan encampments.

Publication

I shall submit a full seasonal report to the *ARCE Journal*. Separate final reports on the fine and coarse ware pottery will be undertaken by Pamela Russell and Linda Hulin respectively. James Thorn will publish the Islamic pottery; the bronze material will also be published, again separately, if permission is received to export specimens of the crucibles and bronze detritus for study in the U.S.A. At this time no final monograph appears to be required, although this decision should remain open to change.

Addendum

Since the above report was written in July 1987, I have been informed by Linda Hulin that the island's so-called "White Grit" pottery can be tentatively identified as south Palestinian in origin and dated to the thirteenth and early twelfth centuries B.C. This would mean that the island was occupied for more than two centuries rather than the eighty or so years of exclusively fourteenth century occupation we have been assuming since 1984. It further implies that the island was inhabited during the period of the Sea-Peoples' alliance with the Libyans against the Egyptians. In light of this development our view of the island's BA architectural development as the product of a less than century-long occupation by a single ethnic group must be revised. The cessation of excavation called for at the end of the above report now seems premature, and I therefore intend to request the Egyptian Antiquities Organization that the University Museum Expedition be permitted to return for a third full season of excavation in the summer of 1989.

THE CULT OF THE SAINTS IN LATE MEDIEVAL EGYPT

CHRISTOPHER S. TAYLOR

Editor's note: Christopher S. Taylor, a graduate student in the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University, was an ARCE Research Fellow during the summer of 1987.

This is a preliminary report of my research in Egypt from June through August 1987. The ultimate aim of my project is to present a comprehensive description of the operation of the cult of the saints in late medieval Egypt (roughly 1200 - 1500 A.D.) and to evaluate the cult in the religious and social life of the later Middle Ages.

Sources

The sources for this project can be divided into six distinct categories. Of foremost importance are a collection of six pilgrimage guides to the cemeteries of Egypt written between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Only three of these guides have been edited and published: *Kitab al-Isharat ila Ma'rifah az-Ziyarat* of al-Harawi, *Kawakib as-Sayarah fi Tartib az-Ziyarah* of Ibn Zayyat, and the *Tufat al-Ahbab wa Baghiyah at-Tulab fi al-Khitat wa-al-Mazarat wa-at-Tarajim wa-al-Baq'a' al-Mubarakat* of as-Sakhawi. The remaining three works, the *Murshid az-Zuwar ila Qubur al-Abrar* of Ibn Uthman, the *Misbah ad-Dayaji wa-Ghawth ar-Raji wa-Kayf al-Laji* of Ibn 'Ayn al-Fudalla, and an anonymous fragment in Paris, all remain in manuscript.

In addition to the pilgrimage guides, I am employing descriptive sources from the later Middle Ages including both the *Kitab al-Intisar* of Ibn Duqmaq and the *Khittat* of al-Maqrizi. I also include under this category the relevant works of the Arab *rahala*, such as Ibn al-Jubayr, Nasri Khusru, and Ibn al-Batuta, as well as the accounts of various European travelers to Egypt.

Another very important body of source material for this study is the voluminous legal literature dealing with the *ziyyarat* and the cult of the Saints in general. This category of texts includes not only the famous works of the Hanbali jurists Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, but also the works of Maliki scholars such as Ibn al-Hajj and al-Wansharisi and Shafi'i jurists such as Taqi ad-Din as-Suhki.

Closely related to the legal sources are a number of theological, mystical, and dogmatic works. Included in this type of literature are the *Mishkat al-Anwar* of al-Ghazzali, the *Talbis Iblis* of Ibn al-Jawzi, and *Kitab ar-Ruh* of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya.

The final category of textual sources includes the chronicles and histories of the Mamluk period such as Maqrizi's *Kitab as-Suluk*, Ibn Taghri Birdi's *Nujum az-Zahira* and Ibn Iyas' *Bida'i as-Zuhur*. These great traditional histories may offer evidence of the role of the cult of the saints in the official religious life of the state, as well as

provide a guide to patronage patterns.

Several dozen tombs and mausolea dating from the Middle Ages which still survive in Cairo's cemeteries provide a rich additional resource. These architectural sources, including the Mashad of Yahya ash-Shabihi and the Mashad of Imam ash-Shafi'i, offer invaluable epigraphic material as well as unique insight into the physical context in which the cult of the saints existed.

Research Completed in Cairo

My research in Cairo was concentrated on the final category of resources, the architectural monuments remaining in the cemeteries around Cairo. This research involved not only on-site studies of the monuments themselves, but also a complete epigraphic survey. I examined all foundation inscriptions as well as Quranic inscription connected to the tombs. In addition, I studied some three thousand gravestone inscriptions from Egypt between the seventh and the late fourteenth centuries and photographed all original portions of the monuments that I visited in Qarafa and the Northern Cemetery. Finally, I completed a survey of the secondary literature concerning the monuments in which I am interested. This involved an analysis of both Creswell's information on each monument as well as individual studies by other writers on specific sites.

Preliminary Findings

It is my intention here simply to outline my initial observations based on the above research. I would like to stress that these are not final conclusions but rather tentative reflections subject to revision as I continue this study.

Citing early Traditions strongly condemning monumental funerary architecture, art historians have argued that the emergence of such structures did not occur in the Islamic world until after the middle of the ninth century A.D., more than two centuries after the Prophet's death. Creswell, for example, states:

The first breach of the injunction not to erect a building over a grave appears to have taken place in the middle of the third century of the Hira, for we are told when the Khalif al-Muntasir dies in Rabi' II, 248 (June, 862) his Greek mother (the wife of Khalif al-Mutawakkil) asked for and obtained permission to erect a mausoleum for him, known today as the Qubbat as-Sulaibiya.¹

In concurring with Creswell's position, Oleg Grabar contends:

It is therefore, in the late 9th, but especially in the 10th and 11th centuries that we can ascertain the growth of commemorative buildings. Their function was almost always funerary. . .²

An additional contention is that the growth of monumental funerary structures in the Islamic world was essentially the product of Shi'ite propaganda. Grabar explains:

As far as the purposes of the mausoleums are concerned, the fact emerges that the overwhelming majority of early mausoleums served either to emphasize shi'ite holy places or to glorify princes from smaller dynasties, usually heterodox. This is not surprising, for the very basic shi'ite emphasis on descent from the Prophet and the mystical significance of the succession of *imams* might naturally result in the desire to transform into holy places of veneration the real or alleged places where the members of the holy family were buried or lived.³

In Professor Grabar's view even the early Sunni tombs must be seen as response to Shi'ite practice. He informs us:

Many of the early sunni shrines . . . were probably built in answer to the growth of shi'ite places of veneration. . .⁴

For the most part these theories are based on a survey of the earliest Islamic funerary structures still in existence. Yusuf Raghīb, relying instead on still earlier textual sources, has challenged the art historians concerning the development of monumental funerary architecture in the Islamic world. In his article "Les Premiers Monuments Funéraires de L'Islam" Raghīb demonstrated that there is clear evidence in the textual sources that monumental funerary structures were constructed by Muslims even before the death of the Prophet. Raghīb points out:

Ces prescription furent violee des les premiers temps de l'Islam:

1) L'an 7/628-629 un sanctuaire fut construit, au bord de la mer, dans un lieu nommé al-'Is, sur le tombeau d'un "sahabi", Abu Basir, mort avant de rejoindre le Prophète à Médine. Ses compagnons qui avaient élevé le monument, nouvellement convertis à l'Islam, ignoraient sans doute les prescriptions du Prophète à l'égard des constructions funéraires.⁵

Raghīb goes on to list seventeen additional examples of monumental Islamic funerary structures built before the mid-ninth century and concludes:

Cette brève étude permet de constater que malgré l'intention formelle du Prophète, des monuments funéraires furent édifiés des les premiers temps de l'Islam.⁶

Because the oldest *existing* funerary monuments date from the late ninth century clearly does not mean that these monuments were the earliest funerary structures built in the Islamic world. It would seem, in fact, that the examples cited by both Creswell and Grabar represent not the beginning of a tradition in Islamic architecture, but, instead, a tradition already well established by the ninth Century.

Furthermore, the contention that monumental funerary architecture in the Islamic world was inspired by Shi'ite theology also needs revision. The examples of pre-

tenth century monuments cited by Raghīb make it abundantly clear that Sunnis were busy constructing funerary structures from the earliest days of Islam. Shi'ite endeavors in this area may have further fueled Sunni construction of monuments, but Sunni participation in this practice does not initially seem to be tied to a "response" to Shi'ite propaganda.

The reason I have elaborated here on the nature, origins, and initial motivating factors in the development of Islamic funerary architecture is related to the prevailing theory of the origins of the cult of the saints in medieval Egypt. Once again we find the argument being advanced that this phenomenon was essentially the product of Shi'ite and, in particular, Isma'ili efforts to subvert the dominant Sunni establishment in Egypt and convert the Egyptian population to an Isma'ili Shi'ite profession of faith. For example, Caroline Williams recently claimed:

. . . the appearance of these mausolea represented the architectural manifestation of an officially sponsored cult of 'Alid martyrs and saints that was used to generate support and loyalty for the Isma'ili Caliph who claimed descent from the Prophet through his grandson al-Hussayn.⁷

I contend that this interpretation of the cult of the saints in medieval Egypt is fundamentally wrong. I propose that the cult predates the Fatimid arrival in Egypt, and that rather than representing an attempt to propagate Isma'ili doctrine among the Egyptian population, the Fatimid tombs in the cemeteries of Egypt represent an assimilation by the recently arrived Fatimid establishment of existing Egyptian custom. I would, therefore, turn prevailing scholarly opinion on its head and argue that the Fatimid shrines represent not an attempt to "win over" the Egyptian population to the triumphant Fatimid cause, but rather an Egyptianization of the Fatimid ruling class itself. In short, these tombs reflect the adoption by the newly arrived Fatimid elite of a very long-standing normative and fundamental characteristic of Egyptian piety.

The custom of visiting the graves of the dead is one of great antiquity in Egypt. A gravestone carved in August, A.D. 803 concludes with the expression:

God have mercy on whoever reads this inscription and prays for mercy on behalf of the one buried here.⁸

This is a common formula on Egyptian gravestones from at least the ninth century through the fourteenth century. Such a statement suggests that visiting the tombs of the dead and praying over and on behalf of them was already well-established practice by the beginning of the ninth century.

The pilgrimage guides to the cemeteries of Cairo make clear that *ziyarat al-qubur*, visiting the tombs of the dead, is certainly as old as the Islamic presence in Egypt and probably much older. The guides which I am working with date from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries. Yusuf Raghīb has already demonstrated that there is a pre-existing stratum of such literature which unfortu-

nately no longer survives. As Raghīb points out, Ibn Hagar al-Askalani mentions a *Kitab az-Ziyarat* written by al-Hasan b. 'Ali b. Faddal al-Taymi al-Kufi, who died in 838-839 A.D.⁹ Although pilgrimage guides are certainly not an exclusively Egyptian genre of literature, Raghīb asserts that:

De tous les guides de pèlerinage de la littérature arabe, les plus développées sont ceux du Caire.¹⁰

The six guides that I am using in this study support my contention that visiting the cemeteries of Cairo predated the Fatimid arrival in Egypt by several centuries. These guides contain an enormous body of hagiographic material which reflects many layers of Islamic history. To be sure, there are a large number of Alid sites which date from the Fatimid period. There are, however, a substantial number of tombs identified in the pilgrimage guides which date to the earliest Islamic presence in Egypt. For example, Ibn Zayyat lists a number of tombs in which were buried the earliest Muslim *qadis* of Egypt.¹¹ He also mentions the graves of the earliest Abbasids in Egypt¹² as well as a large number of graves of figures dating from the Tulunid period.¹³ These brief examples illustrate that the pilgrimage guides of the later Middle Ages represent a compilation of hagiographic material from virtually every period of the Islamic history of Egypt. The Fatimids, to be sure, added their own weighty contribution to that tradition, but they certainly did not establish the practice or the traditions surrounding *ziyarat al-qubur* from scratch. This was already an ancient custom when the Fatimids arrived in Egypt, and the Fatimids simply added to it.

Scholars who see the cult of the saints as fundamentally a Shi'ite phenomenon identify the Ayyubid construction of the Tomb of Imam ash-Shafi'i as the orthodox response to Fatimid practice. Thus Williams writes of the Ayyubids:

. . . they did not efface the cult places of the 'Alid dead. Instead, the Ayyubids themselves, in a triumphant assertion of their own orthodox rule, built in the midst of the 'Alid tombs the largest single-domed mausoleum in the Qarafa, a shrine to a great Sunni teacher and saint, Imam Shafi'i, which was, architecturally, decoratively, and functionally a successor to the Fatimid mausolea.¹⁴

Williams's view arises from her commitment to the concept that the cult of the saints was originally a creation of Fatimid propaganda efforts. I would argue, on the other hand, that this was not the case. The cult of the saints predated the Fatimid arrival in Egypt, and, rather than create it, the Fatimids simply assimilated themselves to a very old Egyptian custom. The Ayyubids were not countering Fatimid propaganda efforts, but rather were adding their own contribution to a living tradition.

Visiting the tombs of the holy and famous dead was, and continues to be, a very special Egyptian manifestation of piety. The various rulers of Egypt adapted themselves to that tradition and added to it; they did not, how-

ever, create it. Maqrizi makes clear that visiting Qarafa was something Egyptians of all social classes did in large numbers every Thursday night and Friday. Egyptians visited the tombs of the holy dead to obtain blessings (*baraka*) and intervention (*shifa'a*). Certain tombs were visited because of the perceived efficacy of such visits. If a Sunni saint proved himself or herself to be particularly effective in intervening on behalf of the petitioner, then the popularity of the saint was guaranteed. If a Shi'ite saint could demonstrate the same effectiveness he surely became incorporated into the tradition. Efficacy was the standard by which cultic sites were judged, not the purity of dogma. The Fatimids could not guarantee the efficacy of their own saints, nor could they ensure the failure of Sunni saints. In such a situation it is hard to imagine how the Fatimids could have hoped to "win over" the Egyptian population to the Isma'ili version of Shi'ite Islam they professed. In fact, in my view, it is hard to imagine the Fatimid elite collectively or individually designing, in a conscious manner, the cult of the saints as a tool of their propaganda mission. The concept that the Egyptian population would somehow learn to accept, let alone understand, the esoteric nuance of Isma'ili doctrine by visiting Fatimid shrines must appear somewhat absurd. Is it not more plausible that when the Fatimid elite arrived in Cairo they discovered a long-standing and popular cultic tradition in existence? As they became progressively more Egyptianized they required their own cultic sites so as not to lose their own identity in the Sunni environment in which they lived.

If we accept the theory that the cult of the saints was largely a Fatimid conspiracy to subvert the Sunni establishment through the back door, so to speak, then the effort was clearly a failure. We have no record that a significant part of the Egyptian population adopted the Fatimid creed. Is it not more likely that the Fatimids came to Egypt, found the cult of the saints well established, and simply chose to patronize their own cultic figures? The Fatimids added their own contribution to the cult of the saints, but the cult itself preceded them and has endured long after the demise of the Fatimid empire.

Nothing is more convincing that the cult of the saints was not a conscious Fatimid invention than an examination of the patronage patterns of the Fatimid shrines themselves. A large portion of these mausolea were built by wealthy female patronesses. If the cult of the saints was a Fatimid creation, then it was largely a plot conceived and executed by the leading women of Fatimid society.

This study, when completed, will demonstrate why the theory that the cult of the saints in Egypt was generated as part of an Isma'ili propaganda effort is interesting but fundamentally flawed. By providing a comprehensive description of the cult of the saints in late medieval Egypt, I hope to place the cult in its proper historical context and in the larger framework of the social and religious life of Egypt in the later Middle Ages.

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank a number of persons and organizations that have helped to make my stay in Egypt a pleasant and fruitful experience. My first debt of gratitude is to the American Research Center in Egypt and the United States Information Agency which provided the funding for my grant. The director and staff of the ARCE were both prompt and helpful in their attention to my requests.

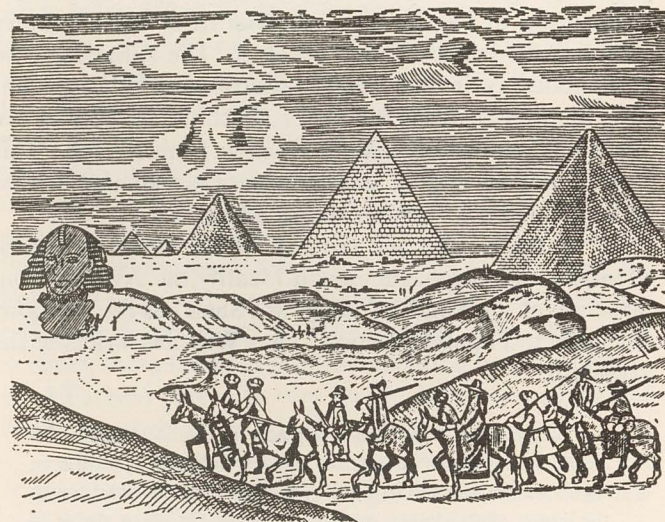
To the government and people of the Arab Republic of Egypt I extend my sincerest thanks for their hospitality and kindness in allowing me to conduct my research. Professor Hassanein Rabie and Professor Muhammed Muhammed Amin, both of Cairo University, and Professor Bernard O'Kane of the American University in Cairo were, as always, very generous with their insights. Mrs. Laila Ali Ibrahim was a tireless friend and my key to the monuments of Qarafa. Mr. Ashraf Yehia Fouad and Mr. Khaled Asfour, graduate students in Islamic art and architecture at the American University in Cairo and at Harvard University, respectively, were my companions on my trips to Qarafa and the Northern Cemetery. Both of these gentlemen are professional architects, and I saw things through their eyes that I would never have noticed without their insight. I would also like to thank Mrs. Gloria Karnouk and Ms. Nahed Saleh of the Creswell Library at A.U.C. for their patient, thoughtful, and very professional assistance.

Last, but certainly not least, I wish to thank Dr. John T. Swanson of the American University in Cairo for his friendship and encouragement as well as his keen insights. An enormous number of young American scholars owe John Swanson a sizable debt of gratitude and I am among them.

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3. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
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5. Yusuf Ragib, "Les Premiers Monuments Funeraires de L'Islam," *Annales Islamologiques*, IX (1970), pp. 22-23.
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10. *Ibid.*, p. 260.
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12. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
13. *Ibid.*, see for example p. 50 and p. 115.
14. Williams, p. 57.



THE EFFECT OF REMITTANCES ON HOUSEHOLD BEHAVIOR AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN UPPER EGYPT

RICHARD H. ADAMS, JR.

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Remittances refer to money and goods that are transmitted by people working abroad to their households back home. In recent years remittances from Egyptians working abroad in other Arab countries have come to represent an important source of national income. According to official Egyptian sources, declared remittances increased from essentially zero in 1971 to \$3,700 million in 1984/85. Although the 1986 fall in the world price of oil has undoubtedly reduced the flow of remittances into Egypt, such resource flows still represent an important source of foreign exchange for Egypt.

Despite the importance of remittances to the Egyptian economy, relatively little research has focused on this phenomenon. This is particularly true at the local village level. Few studies have tried to analyze the impact of remittances on social and economic change in the Egyptian countryside. Therefore, I designed this study to answer the following questions:

1. At the local rural level, what kinds of Egyptians -- rich peasants, poor peasants or government bureaucrats -- go to work abroad?
2. How do remittances from abroad affect poverty and rural income distribution?
3. How do villagers tend to spend or invest their remittance earnings? How does this affect the pace of rural development at the local level?

I examined these and similar questions within the context of one specific rural Egyptian locale: *markaz* (district) "El Diblah"¹ in Minya Governorate.

Several factors led to the selection of this research site. Most importantly, *markaz* El-Diblah is the same rural area I studied in 1978-80 during my examination of local-level rural development in Egypt and I thus have many friends and contacts in this area. Moreover, since so little is known about the impact of remittances on rural Egypt, it seemed best to select an area that is relatively distant from major urban centers. This *markaz* is about 300 kilometers south of Cairo.

¹El-Diblah is a pseudonym

Research Methodology

This study involved the collection of three kinds of primary data.

First, I spent much time interviewing a wide range of villagers -- peasants, government bureaucrats, and merchants. In these informal interviews I tried to learn the local dynamics of worker migration. The information gleaned from these interviews was then coupled with demographic and economic data obtained from the village councils, agricultural cooperatives, and village banks in the area.

Second, I conducted a simple, random census of 1,000 households in three villages in *markaz* El-Diblah. This census was administered by local Egyptian research assistants. The census collected data on household size, educational and occupational status of household members, landholding size, and presence (or absence) of household members working abroad within the last ten years. The purpose of this census was to identify: (a) the number of people who have gone to work abroad; and (b) the socio-economic characteristics of migrant households and workers.

Third, a questionnaire was administered to 150 households -- 75 households which had sent someone abroad and 75 households which did not. This questionnaire collected data on (a) household consumption and expenditure patterns; (b) the types of jobs that migrants hold when they are abroad; and (c) the ways migrants chose to spend or invest their remittance earnings. The purpose of this questionnaire was to compare the expenditure patterns of migrant and non-migrant households.

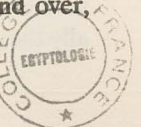
Preliminary Research Findings

Since this is a preliminary field report, I am unable to present a full account of all of my findings. Much of the data gathered in this study still must be analyzed by computer. Thus, the following sections present just an overview of some of my main findings to date.

Volume of Worker Migration Abroad

The census of 1,000 households in *markaz* El-Diblah shows that 33 percent of the sampled households (339 out of 1,000 households) have sent members to work abroad within the past ten years. This figure is much higher than previous studies of rural Egypt have indicated.

Virtually all of the migrants from this area are male. The census of 1,000 households suggests that about 20 percent of all surveyed males, aged 20 years and over, have gone to work abroad.



Who Goes to Work Abroad?

It is primarily the young who go to work abroad. According to Table 1, almost 70 percent of all surveyed migrants are less than 35 years old. Interviews with villagers suggest that the young go abroad to earn the money to marry and to build a new house to marry into.

In a rural area like El-Diblah, most of the migrants are peasants with little formal education. Thus, it is not surprising that Table 2 indicates that 74 percent of the migrants from this area are either illiterate or only able to read and write their names.

Table 1 -- Age of Worker Migrants from Markaz El-Diblah, 1978-87

Age Group	Number of Migrants	Percent of Age Group
16-25	91	25.2
26-35	159	43.9
36-45	75	20.7
46-55	29	8.0
Over 55	8	2.2
	362	100

Note: The 339 households in Markaz El-Diblah with workers abroad produced a total number of 362 migrants.

Preliminary analysis of the census data also suggests that the poor of El-Diblah tend to go to work abroad more than the rich. This tendency is indicated by differences in the size of landholding (i.e. land owned and/or rented). The average landholding for houses with men abroad is 0.72 feddans, while the average landholding for houses with no man abroad is much higher (1.07 feddans). More analysis is needed to clarify the impact of this phenomenon on poverty and rural income distribution.

Where do Migrants Go? What Do They Do?

Approximately 75 percent of all surveyed migrants from markaz El-Diblah go to work in Iraq. At present, Iraq and Jordan are the only two Arab countries which allow Egyptian migrants to enter without an entry visa or work contract. Egyptians can consequently travel to Iraq on a tourist visa, and then begin to look for work.

About 12 percent of all migrants from this area go to Saudi Arabia. Monthly wages for most activities are higher in Saudi Arabia than in Iraq.

Small numbers of migrants from this area also go to work in Libya, Kuwait, and Yemen. The Libyan market seems to have been more popular in the late 1970s. Virtually the only migrants who go to Yemen are teachers.

Table 2 -- Educational Status of Worker Migrants from Markaz El-Diblah, 1978-87

Educational Status	Number of Migrants	Percent of Migrants
Illiterate	208	57.5
Can read and write	63	17.4
Elementary school certificate	3	.8
Preparatory school certificate	3	.8
High school certificate	74	20.4
University degree	7	2.0
Other degree	4	1.1
	362	100

Since the majority of migrants from markaz El-Diblah are peasants, most of them find employment in such labor-intensive sectors as construction or agriculture. Employment in these sectors requires little or no formal education. A common feature of these sectors is the high rate of labor turnover. Migrants move back and forth between construction and agriculture, as they try to maximize their earnings.

How Do Migrants Spend Their Money?

The results of the questionnaire administered to 75 households with migrants abroad are summarized in Table 3.

According to this table, 86 percent of all surveyed migrants spent money on the purchase of consumer durables: radios, televisions, refrigerators, and washing machines. Some of these goods were purchased abroad, but most were purchased in Egypt.

Table 3 also shows that a high proportion of migrants (70 percent) spent money on either rebuilding their existing dwelling or building a new house. In markaz El-Diblah building a new house means erecting a one or two-story red brick structure. Such dwellings replace more traditional mud-brick structures, which villagers regard as being "too unstable and too crowded."

Table 3 -- Spending Patterns of Worker Migrants from Markaz El-Diblah, 1978-87

Item	Number of Migrants	Percent of Migrants
Consumer durables (radio, TV, refrigerator)	65	86.7
Build new house	28	37.3
Repair existing house	25	33.3
Purchase land to build house	20	26.6
Dowry to marry	19	25.3
Purchase agricultural land	6	8.0
Open or expand store	6	8.0
Purchase taxi or microbus	3	4.0
Purchase irrigation pump	2	2.6
Pilgrimage to Mecca	2	2.6
Other	2	2.6
Total Migrants Interviewed		75

Note: Number of migrants and percentage of migrants do not add up to 75 and 100 percent, respectively, because of multiple uses of savings.

The high expenditure on housing in this area has several important implications. On the one hand, it helps stimulate the local construction industry. Not only can poor peasants now find work in construction, but there is a strong demand for bricks, wood, and other building materials. On the other hand, however, most of this new building takes place on the outskirts of villages on agricultural land. Such construction thus tends to rob the local economy of its most valuable resource: agricultural land.

Table 3 reveals that 25 percent of all migrants from markaz El-Diblah used their remittance earnings to marry. Since many of the migrants from this area are young, unmarried males, this finding is not surprising. In this area young males must pay between LE 2,000 to LE 5,000 to marry. This money goes towards the purchase of jewelry and furnishings for the new apartment.

A survey of the remaining items in Table 3 shows how little of remittance earnings actually goes to productive investment. Very few of the migrants used their money in ways that would either increase agriculture production or stimulate commercial activity. For example, only 8 percent of migrants bought agricultural land, and only 8 percent invested their money in a business or store. A similarly small percentage (4 percent) used their earnings to purchase a taxi or microbus.

The low amount of remittance earnings devoted to productive investment in this area is somewhat disappointing. Further analysis of the data collected in markaz El-Diblah is needed to identify the reasons for this phenomenon.

Conclusion

Much more work needs to be done to refine and extend the preliminary findings presented here. Much of the data needs to be analyzed by computer, and more comparisons need to be drawn between the migrant and non-migrant household groups. Finally, policy recommendations need to be made concerning ways in which the Egyptian government might encourage the flow of remittance earnings into productive investment at the local village level.

However, at this point I would like to express my great appreciation for all the help and assistance rendered by the people of markaz El-Diblah. Government officials attached to the village councils, agricultural cooperatives and village banks in this area were all more than helpful. And the people of El-Diblah were invariably quite forthcoming in responding to the many questions included in this study. To these, and others, I would like to express my deepest gratitude and appreciation.

The Coptic Holdings

ROBERT B. BETTS

Coptologists have often complained in their writings and journals of how the study of Egypt in the period of Late Antiquity (also known as the Coptic period) has been so enormously overshadowed by interest in events that happened before and after. Even today there is some debate as to whether the study of Coptic Egypt should begin with the conversion of the Nile Valley peoples to Christianity in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. or with the schism of the Coptic Church from mainstream Orthodoxy at the Council of Chalcedon in 451. There is also a question of whether it came to an abrupt end with the Arab conquest in 641 or lingered on until the majority of Egyptians became Muslim sometime before the 11th century A.D. And then there are the Byzantine scholars who like to think of the Copts as errant children of the Eastern Roman Empire whose writings, after all, concern themselves almost entirely with issues of Christianity. For Coptologists theirs is the study of the land and people of Egypt as expressed in writings in the language we call Coptic whose several dialects reflect the last form of ancient Egyptian copied down in an alphabet based on Greek with the additions of specific letters designed to represent consonantal sounds the Greeks never thought of. The spoken language survived in Upper Egypt into the Ottoman period, and the written form of course was preserved by the Coptic Orthodox Church and continues to be used in its liturgy until today. The majority of the documents which form the basis of the study of Coptic do date in fact from the period of the domination of the Nile Valley by the break-away Egyptian Monophysite church -- roughly two centuries from the mid-fifth through the mid-seventh. Coptology as a recognized academic discipline dates from the early part of this century, although studies of the language and surviving written examples can be said to have begun in earnest during the last quarter of the 19th century. Increasingly, interest in things Coptic has spread from the language itself (and its great value in providing some of the earliest known texts of the Bible and the many non-canonical writings) to studies of the Coptic Church, its liturgy, its monasteries, funereal monuments, the masses of textile fragments, and the socio-political structure of Egypt's large Coptic minority. The ARCE Library has an interesting collection of books and journals relating to all of the above scattered throughout the classification system but concentrated under the letter "G" and located in the Development office on the far left wall.

Our collection of journals and serials is by no means complete, but does include the total output of the Coptic Archaeological Society -- all 26 issues of its BULLETIN (1936-85) and virtually all of its PUBLICATIONS (1942-85). We also possess the first 15 volumes of the

French Institute's BIBLIOTHEQUE D'ETUDES COPTES (1919-1979) the first five issues of COPTICA (Copenhagen, 1922-29), and the first 13 volumes of KEMI (save no. 12, 1928-1954). More modern serials include the ongoing Brill publications of the NAG HAMMADI STUDIES (Library & Codices, Monographs etc.). An earlier series of some rarity and interest is the eight-volume collection on Coptic Papyri of B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt (1898-1908).

Recent acquisitions from the Alexander Badawy library include some very interesting early studies, among them Wallis Budge's THE EARLIEST KNOWN COPTIC PSALTER (1898), W. Till's ACHMIMISCH-KOPTISCHE GRAMMATIK (1928), Crum's CATALOGUE OF THE COPTIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE RYLANDS LIBRARY AT MANCHESTER (1929), Hermann Junker's KOPTISCHE POESIE (1908), and Ugo Monneret de Villard's LES EGLISES DU MONASTERE DES SYRIENS AU WADI NATRUN (1928).

Of the monumental three-volume study of the Monasteries of the Wadi 'n-Natrun by Hugh G. Evelyn White published under the auspices of the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Expedition (late 1920s and early '30s) we have only the third (ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHAEOLOGY). We do, however, have all three of the Rev. Otto F.A. Meinardus's studies on the Coptic Church and people in the 20th century (MONKS & MONASTERIES OF THE EGYPTIAN DESERTS, 1961, CHRISTIAN EGYPT ANCIENT & MODERN, 1965, and CHRISTIAN EGYPT FAITH AND LIFE, 1970). Dr. Meinardus is an American-educated German who served for many years as pastor of the American Community Church in Maadi and later came to Athens where he served as pastor of St. Andrew's American Church (which meets at the German Evangelical Church). As I was the organist there at the time I came to know Otto and his family very well and am a great admirer of his very thorough and extensive studies on the Copts, both past and present. An earlier study can be found in Mrs. Butcher's THE STORY OF THE CHURCH IN EGYPT (2 vols, 1897) and then there are the very numerous books by a succession of Presbyterian missionaries and teachers who came to Egypt in the late 19th century.

There are still many studies which we do not have, however, and I would be very grateful for both suggestions of needed acquisitions and donations, needless to say, of the same. The Copts and their extensive heritage are of particular interest to the Christian West and their monuments are increasingly included on the regular tourist route (as indicated by the recent appearance of Jill Kamel's guidebook which concerns itself exclusively with the Coptic Egypt). As the overall corpus is small in comparison with both Ancient, Medieval Islamic, and Modern Egypt, it represents an area in which the ARCE library can concentrate rather successfully given the substantial existing base. Any help which ARCE members can give me in achieving a more complete Coptic collection will be gratefully appreciated (and graciously acknowledged).



FROM THE NARCE FILES

AN EXPEDITION TO SINAI

Editor's Note: St. Catherine's in the Sinai has long been a compelling destination for both tourists and scholars. Visits there reliably evoke awe, respect, and long lists of superlatives. We think that readers who have made the trip recently will enjoy the following account which first appeared in the December, 1963 NARCE. It was written by Ray Smith, the then Cairo Center Director.

I think we owe you an account of our trip to Sinai, ably organized for members of the Center's staff by Nick Millet.

The party consisted of seven. In addition to Mrs. Smith and myself, there were Nick, George Scanlon, Bernard and Jerry Bothmer, and Jean Keith. There were no serious difficulties, going or coming, but the primitive roads beyond Abou Zenima, or what pass for roads, take a terrific toll on even the most rugged vehicle. At the best, the trip is long and arduous, so that any thought of regular sleep or meals is out the window. But a glimpse of St. Catherine's is worth all the privations. . .

This monastery is unique in various ways. Built in the sixth century A.D., it has never burned, been captured, or destroyed. The large mosaic in the apse of the basilica is perhaps the most imposing single work of art at St. Catherine's. It dates from the sixth century, and it is substantially in its original condition.

Within the walls of the monastery stands a mosque, which has surely a unique history. When Sultan El Hakim (996-1021 A.D.) advanced towards the monastery with his fanatical troops, intending to demolish it, a deputation of monks came out and saved the monastery from destruction by a fabulous forensic maneuver. It was agreed that the spot where the monastery stood was sacred soil, because Mohamed had visited this spot in his youth. Therefore it was agreed that the monks would return to the monastery and erect a mosque. The edifice was completed, according to one account, in the incredibly short space of a matter of hours. When the troops arrived, the monks simply invited them in to worship in the mosque, and the monastery was in this way saved from destruction. In any case, the mosque is today there for everyone to see and is used by the local bedouins, including those who work regularly at the monastery.

The monks at St. Catherine's are surprisingly liberal in their views. For example, no attempt is made to convert the bedouins working there. We observed, furthermore, that local bedouins were permitted to work on minor remodeling and refurbishing of certain rooms on the Sunday we were there. . .

A dramatic illustration of conditions in this vast wilderness was provided by an incident involving Mr. LaMotte, a photographer, who functions as the expedi-

tion's [Alexandria-Princeton-Michigan Expedition] medical authority. Word came in that the wife of Moussa, Professor Weitzmann's personal servant, lay seriously ill in the mountains. Mr. LaMotte immediately decided to go to her assistance. As darkness was approaching, and it would have been dangerous for him to have come down off the mountain alone, I volunteered to go with him. We were able to go part way by car, climbing then up a rocky valley until we reached the tiny hut where this bedouin woman and five other people were living. We had been led to believe that she might be in a coma, in which case oral biotics could not have been administered, and the necessary injection could very well have brought on convulsions.

The woman had been bitten more than two weeks previously, possibly by a scorpion, and had had no attention whatever. She had obviously suffered for days from delirium and very high fever, and her heart was affected. The woman had assumed ugly proportions. While Mr. LaMotte cauterized the wound, the patient was unflinching. An interested spectator was a bedouin who served the area as a sort of medicine man. We learned that these quasi-doctors systematically inflict large burns on the bodies of anyone they treat, regardless of what the trouble may be. He watched LaMotte's procedure, but without comment.

As Mr. LaMotte was leaving St. Catherine's three days later, it was necessary to instruct Moussa to have his wife come to the monastery two days later. I now learn that she was able to get there, which involved an hour and a half walk, barefooted, each way. Her condition was much improved, and she apparently escaped death through the dedication of a lay physician. . .

Actually, although he has no medical degree and only two years of pre-medical preparation, Mr. LaMotte seems to have been destined for this sort of thing. Several years ago, when driving his wife several miles to the hospital for childbirth, he was overtaken by a grave emergency when he had to stop and deliver his own child beside the road in the early morning hours.

[And in the March, 1964 *NARCE*, an interesting *addendum* to the Sinai account.]

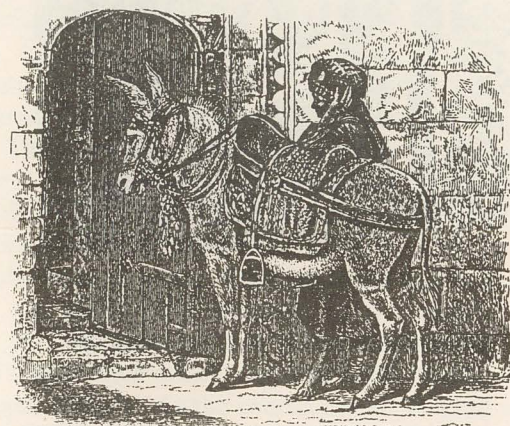
On the trip to Sinai, Ray Smith, Director of the Center in Cairo, recalled that the biblical *manna* had been mentioned in connection with the Moses story. He could find no one who had ever seen *manna* or even knew what it was. He decided to investigate and found out from the monks at St. Catherine's that *manna* is still known in Sinai. It seems that the tamarisk tree exudes drops of syrup during a period each winter and that, when gathered drop by drop, the resulting product is very palatable. No *manna* is thought to reach trade channels any more, but a small quantity each year is gathered by the bedouins for their own consumption. Arrangements have been made to obtain a small bottle of *manna*, which Ray Smith is deter-

mined to take back to the United States as a novel feature of some future dinner at his home. He wonders whether the traditional reference to *manna* "from heaven" could reflect the fact that this delicacy does indeed sprinkle down to the ground in drops unless it is laboriously harvested.

"YES, THAT'S THE WAY IT IS!"

Perusing early *NARCEs* has been a pleasant assignment for your current editor. I'm sure the following paragraph, written by George Scanlon from the ARCE excavation at Gebel Adda in 1963, will elicit a nod of recognition in all archaeologist-readers. It's also a lovely reminder of Professor Scanlon's deft way with words:

"I'm learning a good deal . . . of course in my soul I rebel against the tedium of recording and the ordinariness of many of the tombs we have uncovered . . . but then something vitally significant or oddly lovely turns up, and effort is rewarded in so visible a manner that the heart stops . . . We're all happy, healthy, facetiously humorous, devoted to our director, and in love with Nubia. The terrain cannot be believed; even the river speaks a different language up here. Sunrises en route to the field, sunsets as we quit the work-tent: nature intrudes to balance and redeem. Only the insects annoy, but where don't they?"



IN PURSUIT OF...

It's all the rage in the States, all the rage in Europe, and now, all the rage in Egypt. What is? Why, the pursuit of trivia, of course. Cassandra Vivian of the AUC Press has produced and marketed Cairo's hottest gift item, "Egyptian Trivia," a game guaranteed to keep you amused, frustrated, and entertained for hours. Parents claim that it's a painless way of instilling a few facts in their children, and tourists have discovered it's a handy way to remember some of the information they picked up cruising down the Nile. Now it's time for you to try a few of the 750 trivial questions. Answers are on page [].

- [1] What is the modern name of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple?
- [2] Who paid for the printing of the *Description de l'Egypte*?
- [3] Is the eastern or western obelisk of the Luxor Temple in Paris?
- [4] In what Gregorian calendar year does the Coptic calendar year begin?
- [5] Which Egyptian Oasis has the saltiest water?
- [6] What silent film comedian enjoyed staying at Mena House?
- [7] What were the Giza pyramids called during the Middle Ages?
- [8] Name Norman Mailer's book about Egypt.
- [9] Who wrote *Midaq Alley*?
- [10] What was believed to cure migraine headaches in ancient Egypt?
- [11] What Islamic monument is on the pound note?
- [12] Name the suq of candymakers.
- [13] What belly dancer was called to Washington, D.C. by Henry Kissinger?
- [14] What did pharaoh call his mother's necklace?
- [15] When was the Golden Age of Arabic music?
- [16] Who illustrated *L'Art Arabe*?
- [17] Which Egyptologist did publisher John Murray commission to write "A Handbook to Egypt" in 1867?
- [18] Which savant classified the fish in the Nile?
- [19] What is the Greco-Roman name of Edfu?
- [20] What organization supports researchers in Egypt?

SPEAKERS AND PAPERS ON EGYPTIAN STUDIES

GIVEN AT THE MIDDLE EAST STUDIES ASSOCIATION MEETING
BALTIMORE, NOVEMBER 14-17, 1987

PANELS

Egypt: Cultural and Social Issues

(Chair: Byron D. Cannon, * University of Utah)

Michael W. Albin * (Library of Congress), "The Survival of the Bulaq Press under Abbas and Said (1848-1863)"

Byron D. Cannon *, "Personal and Ethical Values of a Nineteenth Century Egyptian Statesman: The Muhammad Pasha Sharif Correspondence"

El Sayed el-Aswad (University of Michigan), "Fellah and Affendi: An Anthropological Study of Symbols of Authority and Identity in an Egyptian Village"

Robert Springborg * (Macquerie University)
"Mubarak, the Political Elite, and Egypt's Changing Political Economy"

Arab Women's Participation in Public Life: Egypt

(Chair: Hoda Badran, Helwan University)

Soha Abdel Kader (American University in Cairo)
"Egyptian Women in a Changing Society"

Bahira Mokhtar (al-Ahram)

"Women's Public Figures in Mass Media in Egypt"

Malak el-Husseiny Zaalouk

(National Institute of Social Research)

"Female Intellectuals in Egyptian Public Life"

The Egyptian Revolution of 1919 and Its Aftermath

(Chair: Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *

University of California, Los Angeles)

Ellis Goldberg * (University of Washington)

"Leadership and Ideology in the 1919 Revolution"

Nathan Brown (Wesleyan University), "Peasants and Social Revolution: The 1919 Uprising in the Countryside"

Robert Vitaliss * (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

"The Egyptian Business Elite Before and After 1919"

K. Dallas Kenny (University of Michigan)

"The Alexandria Riots of 1921"

Workshop -- Contemporary Egyptian Political Parties

(Chair: Louis J. Cantori, *

University of Maryland, Baltimore County)

Ann Radwan (Fulbright Program, Egypt)

Mona Makram Ubeid (American University in Cairo)

Marius Deeb (Georgetown University)

Hamied Ansari

Robert Bianchi (University of Chicago)

Economic and Social Change in Central Cairo

(Chair: Peter von Silvers, * University of Utah)

Eckart Ehlers (University of Bonn)

"Housing-Trading-Manufacturing:

Urban Land-Use Conflicts in Central Cairo"

Gunter Meyer (University of Erlangen-Nurnberg)

"Socio-Economic Structure and Development of Small-Scale Manufacturing in Old Quarters of Cairo"

Georg Stauth (University of Bielefeld)

"Gamaliyya: Informal Economy and Social Life in a Popular Quarter of Cairo"

The Household as Critical Resource: Survival and Community in Contemporary Cairo

(Chair: Diane Singerman, Princeton University)

Homa Hoodfar (University of Kent at Canterbury),

"Survival Strategies: A Holistic Approach"

Kathy Kamphoefner (Northwestern University)

"Is Literacy a Basic Need? A View from the Bottom: Illiterate Women of Cairo"

Nadia Khouri-Dagher

(Ecole des hautes etudes en sciences sociales)

"The Answers of Civil Society to a Defaulting State: Food Access Strategies in Contemporary Cairo"

Frederic Shorter (Population Council, Egypt)

"The Production of Health in Cairo Households"

Diane Singerman, * "The Individual, Household, Family, and the State: The Politics of Resource Mobilization"

The Position and Role of the "Popular" in Modern Egyptian Literary/Cultural Expression

(Chair: Everett Rowson, * Harvard University)

Carol Bardenstein (Dartmouth College)

"Muhammad 'Uthman Jalal: Canonicity and the Colloquial in Early Modern Egyptian Theatre"

Ginny Danielson (University of Illinois)

"Umm Kulthum and Commercial Entertainment in Cairo, 1920-1930"

Kamal Abdel-Malek (McGill University)

"'Nukta-logia' Egyptiana: Political Humor in the Modern Egyptian Zajal"

Issues in Contemporary Egypt

(Chair: William A. Rugh, Tufts University)

David Makovsky * (San Francisco State University)

"Economic Rationalization and the Mixed Economy: Case Studies from Egypt"

[1]	Deir el Bahri.
[2]	The French government.
[3]	The western.
[4]	A.D. 284
[5]	Siwa.
[6]	Charlie Chaplin.
[7]	Joseph's Graines.
[8]	Ancient Evenings.
[9]	Naguib Mahfouz.
[10]	Fish heads.
[11]	Mosque of Qait Bey.
[12]	Sug-al-Sukkariah.
[13]	Nagwa Fouad.
[14]	Mummy(s) beads.
[15]	The Abbasid Period.
[16]	Prisse d'Avennes.
[17]	Sir I. Gardiner Wilkinson.
[18]	Geoffrey Saint Hilaire.
[19]	Apollinopolis Magna.
[20]	American Research Center in Egypt!

ANSWERS TO "EGYPTIAN TRIVIA"

"Egyptian Trivia" is an attractively designed and packaged card game. To order, write:

Ms. Cassandra Vivian
AUC Press
The American University in Cairo
113 Sharia Kasr el Aini
P. O. Box 2511
Cairo
Arab Republic of Egypt

PRICE: \$5.00 ppd. (allow 3 months for delivery or add \$2.00 for airmail)

7 LE (to be picked up at AUC Press)

8 LE (to be mailed within Egypt)

PLEASE MENTION THAT YOU READ ABOUT "EGYPTIAN TRIVIA" IN THE *NEWSLETTER* AND ARCE WILL GET 20%.

Noka Elmikawy (University of California, Los Angeles)
 "Can Egypt of Sadat and Mubarak be Called a Bourgeois State?"
*Daniel Brumberg** (University of Chicago)
 "The Phenomenon of 'Liberal Marxism' in Contemporary Egypt"
Gihad Auda
 (Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies)
 (paper not announced)

International Crises and Egypt

(Chair: George W. Gawrych
 U.S. Army Command and General Staff College)
Howard J. Dooley (Western Michigan University)
 "New Light on the Suez Crisis of 1956: What British Documents Reveal"
George W. Gawrych
 "The Egyptian Military Defeat of 1967"
Bahgat Korany (Universite de Montreal)
 "Diplomatic Decisions as Electric Shocks:
 The How and Why of Sadat's Decision to Go to Jerusalem, 1977"

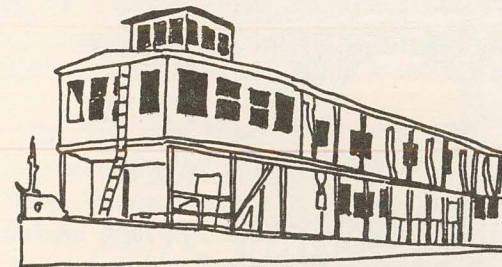
INDIVIDUAL PAPERS

Juan Campo (University of California, Santa Barbara)
 "Pilgrimage in the Formation of Islam in Modern Egypt"
Lenore G. Martin (Emmanuel College)
 "Egypt and the Gulf"
*Paul W. Blank** (Middlebury College)
 "Tipping the Balance: The Change in Egypt's Space-Economy in the Nineteenth Century"
Raymond A. Hinnebusch (College of St. Catherine)
 "Conceptualizing the Authoritarian State: Observations from the Egyptian and Syrian Cases"
Nazih Y. Daher (University of Notre Dame)
 "Egyptian and Syrian Colloquial Features in the Narratives of The Thousand and One Nights"
Rashid Khalidi (University of Chicago)
 "Nationalism in Egypt and Bilad al-Sham Before 1914: A Comparative Perspective"
Beth Ann Baron (University of California, Los Angeles)
 "Mothers of the Nation: Women and Nationalism in Early Twentieth Century Egypt"
*Caroline Williams** (University of Texas at Austin)
 "Orientalist Views of Islamic Egypt: Roberts and Gerome"
*Patrick Gaffney** (University of Notre Dame)
 "Notes from the Underground: Pamphlets, Posters and Handbills of the Islamic Movement in Upper Egypt"
Abd al-Wahhab Bakr
 (California State University, Los Angeles)
 "Administrative Rules Relating to Land and Property in Egypt: Two Documents from the Late Eighteenth Century"

Joseph T. Zeidan (Ohio State University)
 "The Egyptian Theater in the Nineteenth Century: The Syro-Lebanese Connection"
Jane Hathaway (Princeton University),
 "The 'Ulama' and Social Protest in Late Eighteenth Century Cairo: A Fresh Approach to al-Jabarti"
*Marsha Pripstein Posusney** (University of Pennsylvania)
 "Egyptian Labor Under the Infitah"
Mervat Hatem (Howard University)
 "Mother-Daughter Relations in Egyptian Families: Tensions and Potentialities"
Nawal Hamed Ammar (University of Florida)
 "Women in Rural Families Between Modernization and Progress: A Study of Silwa in Upper Egypt"

*Former ARCE Fellows and/or members

THE NEWS FROM CAIRO



Welcome to AUC

The 1987-88 academic year began with the very welcome addition of The American University in Cairo as a research-supporting member of ARCE. The AUC member of the Board of Governors is **Dr. George Gibson**, Provost of the University and Dean of Faculty, whose wife **Judy** is our Cairo Center Librarian and Editor of NARCE.

Archaeology Club

Archaeology Club activities began in earnest in October with three simultaneous sessions of **William Lyster's** Islamic History and Civilization course given at the Women's Association in Mohandessin, the new Semiramis Intercontinental hotel near ARCE, and at the General Dynamics offices in Heliopolis, and a total enrollment of well over 60 students including **Ambassador Wisner** and his wife **Christine**, and **Chris Covey**, wife of DCM **Jock Covey**. Archaeology Club director, **Angela Milward Jones**, recently returned from the U.K. with baby Katherine, is busily planning more courses and excursions as well as the monthly meetings of the Club from now until May.

The Club began its regular monthly meetings on October 29th with a lecture by **Dr. Ben Harer** and a meeting in November took advantage of **Dr. Robert Bianchi's** visit to Egypt with this Brooklyn Museum tour group.

EAO/ARCE Update

Applications for a number of ARCE-sponsored archaeological expeditions have been submitted to the EAO and several have already received approval and, in a few cases, security clearances, among them The University of Michigan, The University of South Carolina (Hierakonpolis), and The University of California at Berkeley (Theban Mapping Project). **Dr. Lanny Bell** and his crew of epigraphers and photographers began their season on schedule in mid-October buoyed by the new favorable US dollar-Egyptian pound exchange rate and a \$50,000 donation from American Express. Congratulations to Chicago House Fund Raiser **Carlota Maher** for a job well done! The climate at the EAO remains favorable for American archaeological projects, especially those em-

phasizing conservation and restoration. The Boston University/National Geographic Solar Boat expedition received a good deal of favorable publicity and it was fitting that **Kamal Mallakh** saw the verification of his projections of many years ago only days before his sudden death on October 29th. All projects, however, still require very careful advance planning and submission of the complete package of necessary documents AT LEAST four months ahead of the beginning date of actual work to be safe. Please remember that this includes security forms, seven photographs of each participating expedition member as well as photocopies of the information pages of his/her passports, particularly the page showing the date of expiry (British passports, for example, give this information on a completely separate page). All members' passports submitted MUST be valid through the final date of projected expedition work at the time we make the application to EAO.

Research Climate

The discovery of the theft of a number of unreported items from the Cairo Museum in September has led to the suspension of **Mohammed Saleh** as Director pending an investigation. This has forced **Dr. Saleh** to cancel several trips abroad including one to the United States since he cannot leave Egypt during the period in which the investigation is conducted. The general feeling is that he will be vindicated but in the meantime his position and future career is indefinite. The overall research climate remains favorable, but those scholars who need to make use of the library at *Dar al-Witha'i* should be warned that the move from their present location at the Citadel to the new home in *Dar al-Kutub* has begun. ARCE fellows now working there have been assured that they will be able to continue their research through this academic year, but this is by no means guaranteed. Workers are presently boxing 19th and 20th century records so for the moment the earlier holdings are accessible to scholars.

Wednesday Seminars

The regular Wednesday Seminars have presented eight fellows and their research this Fall, including **Ted Brock**, **Michael Reimer**, **Michael Jones**, **Iliya Harik**, **Marsha Posusney**, **Dwight Reynolds**, **Enid Hill**, and **Larry Bermann**. Our seminar and lecture facilities have been improved with the installation of new overhead lighting in the outer library room, and the purchase of two new slide projectors (one being the gift of the Cairo Women's Association). In addition the Library has received the very welcome donation of a beautiful nearly new card catalogue by AUC Librarian, **Smith Richardson**. Acquisitions, cataloguing and binding are continuing as fast as our budget will allow and I am hopeful that much of what I set out to accomplish over a year ago will in fact have been achieved

by the end of this academic year. In addition to our regular seminars and Archaeology Club course lectures we were fortunate in being able to present a showing of Dr. Fedwa al-Guindi's recent film on Egyptian Birth Customs (*al-Subu'*) to an enthusiastic audience on October 19th.

Social Happenings

On the social front a large reception for new ARCE fellows and old friends, members, and affiliates was held aboard the *Fustat* on Friday, October 16th. Nearly 200 people dropped by for drinks and snacks and for many it was their first visit. The *Fustat* has been receiving live-on guests since the Summer and is coping well. Renovation works have just about finished with the construction of a new gate at the street level, the levelling and repairing of the steps leading down to the landing, and the painting of the interior of the hull with non-corrosive paint as a final safety measure. We look forward to receiving a steady stream of guests during the coming months and will be happy to book you a cabin. Please write to the Cairo director directly for reservations.

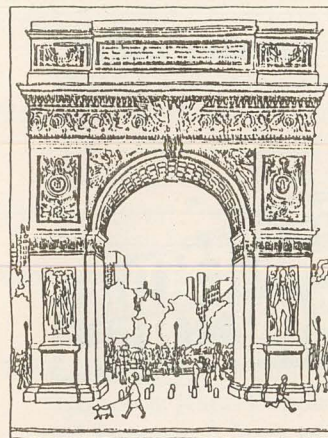
Miscellaneous

Events in Cairo of international interest have included the re-election of President Hosni Mubarak to a second six-year term as President, the opening of the new Metro on schedule at the end of September, and the mounting of Verdi's AIDA at the Pyramids for a two-week run. The debate over whether or not to take down the costly set backdrop and bleachers raised quite a furor with the EAO finally winning out. The Sphinx and adjacent temple can once again be seen as they were before the opera craze struck.

A new member has joined the Cairo staff as the Director of Development, **Martlyn Winter Alghusseini**. Marilyn, who formerly directed the Heliopolis office of the American Chamber of Commerce, has lived in Cairo for the past five years and has gained a lot of very valuable experience in fund raising which she is putting to work for ARCE.

Fifteen ARCE fellows are currently in residence and all have routinely been given their clearances and permits. We look forward to a busy and productive academic season and hope to see as many of you as possible in Cairo during the coming months.

Ahlan wa sahan.



THE NEWS FROM NEW YORK

Inaugural Lecture and Reception

ARCE held an "inaugural lecture" and reception at the Hagop Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies at New York University on 10 December 1987. The speaker was **Bernard V. Bothmer**, Lila Acheson Wallace Professor of Ancient Egyptian Art, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, who gave a lecture with slides on "Unknown Masterpieces of Egyptian Art in Egypt." Professor Bothmer was introduced by Dr. **David O'Connor**, president of ARCE, and the invited audience included a large number of friends of ARCE from the New York area. Following the lecture, a reception was held in the Kevorkian Center, where welcoming remarks were made by Dr. **Bayly Winder**, director of the Center, and by Dr. **Terry Walz**, director of ARCE in New York. On display was a selection of photographic studies of Egyptians by photographer **Jeanne Tiff** of Washington, D.C., who joined us especially for the event.

Membership Privileges

ARCE members are now being offered 20% discount on all publications of the American Research Center in Egypt. A complete list of those publications is available from the New York office (write to Maggie Channon). The discount also extends to back issues of the *Journal* and the *Newsletter*. For the *Journal*, write Eisenbrauns, P.O. Box 275, Winona Lake, IN 46590. When asking for the member's discount, please send a copy of your ARCE membership card.

People in the News

Ann Russmann's letter to the editor of *Scientific American* appeared in the November (1987) edition of that publication. In it she discussed an aerial photograph of a desert kite, from an article on "Gazelle Killing in Stone Age Syria" that had appeared in the August issue. Ms. Russmann drew attention to an identical form on the so-called Narmer palette, a votive palette dated 3100 B.C. recording the conquests of the First Dynasty king Narmer; the device, "placed above the figure of a fallen enemy, . . . is clearly intended to identify the tribe or people he represents." Ms. Russmann expressed the belief that the kite

was used to represent people who, whether nomadic or sedentary, still depended heavily on hunting, rather than those who were part of agricultural groups living in fortified communities. She went on to discuss how desert hunting was a feature of life in ancient Egypt, and that in the depletion of animal life in the desert surrounding the Nile Valley, desert kites as well as humans played their part.

The New York Times (21 October 1987) discussed the insertion of a small television camera into a pit near the Cheops Pyramid to view a dismantled wooden boat buried about 2700 B.C., the discovery of such a boat having been predicted by **Kamal el-Mallakh** in 1954 when the first solar boat was found. The scientific director of the project is Dr. **Farouk el-Baz** of Boston University. One aspect of the current project is to analyze the atmosphere within the tomb, sealed for 4,600 years, and compare it with the present environment, irreversibly altered over the millennia by the emissions of fossil fuels. Using a specially-designed carbide-tipped drill, based on technology developed for lunar exploration, members of a National Geographic team bored a small hole through one of the forty large stones covering the pit. The probe marked the first time that space-age technology had been used for archaeology. At the laboratory of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration in Boulder, Colorado, where the air has been shipped for analysis, Dr. **Pieter Tans** remarked, "It was stale and didn't smell of cedar."

Petrie Head Missing?

An article in *The Guardian* (4 November 1987) by **Andrew Moncur** unveiled a new mystery at the Royal College of Surgeons, London, which, since Sir Flinders Petrie's death in Jerusalem in 1942, has been the custodian of Petrie's head. At his own wish, Sir Flinders asked that upon death his head be detached and returned to England for the purposes of scientific research. For many years it was believed to have been sitting in a preserving jar in a cupboard at the college.

Recently, **Elizabeth Allen**, curator of the college's collection (according to the article in *The Guardian*) cast doubt on whether the head in the jar was Sir Flinders'. It is thought to be too youthful, and the whiskers are dark, not white as Sir Flinders' were at his death. But to verify whose head it is may be impossible, since all the people who were at University College London, where Sir Flinders held the Chair in Egyptology, have passed away. "So far I have come up with absolutely nothing," Miss Allen is reported to have said. "How a switch has been made, if a switch has been made, I just don't know."

According to *The Guardian*, the collection at the Royal College of Surgeons also contains a fine selection of brains -- "including some of the greatest of their day and some of the most frankly idiotic."

Film

Among the films and videos shown at the Middle East Studies Association in Baltimore (November 14-17) was the premiere of "Cities of Islam: Cairo," a 25-minute color film (available on 16mm film and videocassette) directed by **John Dooley** for Polonius. The film, a visual art history tour of Islamic Cairo, is available from International Film Bureau, Inc, 332 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, IL 60604-4302.

Southern California Chapter News

In November the Chapter was addressed by Dr. **Nigel Strudwick**, an Egyptologist at the University of California in Los Angeles, who discussed "Administrative Procedures in the Old Kingdom" (19 November 1987). Visiting lecturers in early 1988 will be: Dr. **Irene Bierman**, of the same university, who will speak on "Misr Fustat through the Mamluk period" (14 January 1988); Dr. **Miguel Angel Corzo** of the Getty Conservation Institute, on the Getty/EAO project to conserve the tomb of Nefertari (2 February 1988); Dr. **John Ruffle**, Keeper of the Oriental Museum, University of Durham, on the Museum's Egyptian collection (a large part of which formerly belonged to the fourth Duke of Northumberland) on 12 April 1988. Dr. **Anthony Spalinger**, visiting from the University of Auckland, New Zealand (and an ARCE member) will speak on "The Economy of Ancient Egyptian Temples" (30 May 1988).

On 15 and 17 March 1988, a memorial lecture and seminar will be given in honor of Dr. **John Callender**, chaired by Dr. **Antonio Loprieno**. For further details: **Noel Sweitzer**, c/o HSDI, 1625 S. Toberman Street, Los Angeles, CA 90015, (213) 747-2790. Noel has set up a fund to support the memorial and contribute towards Dr. Loprieno's travel costs from Italy.

Obituary Notices

Kamal el-Mallakh (29 October 1987), 69. Heart attack, Cairo. "In 1954 he discovered two pits just south of the Great Pyramid. He opened one and found Cheops' boat, the oldest wooden relic of Egypt's Old Kingdom... The boat, found in several layers of mainly cedar boards, was reassembled and for five years has been on display.... He founded the Egyptian Society for Movie Writers and Critics in the 1970s and served as its chairman for eight years." (*The New York Times*, 31 October 1987)

Abdel Rahman Sharkawi (10 November 1987), 67. Heart attack, Cairo. "His first novel, 'The Land,' explored peasant sufferings under feudalism. He wrote a play in verse about Algeria's fight for independence from France. His last novel, 'Abu Bakr al-Sedik,' was serialized in *al-Ahram* last month." Mr. Sharkawi was a member of the National Assembly and Supreme Press Council. (*New York Times*, 11 November 1987).

Personals Column

David Hinkle writes that he is developing a personal library covering ancient Egypt and needs help in acquiring the appropriate documents and books. He would particularly welcome anything that would help him translate the text found on *shabti* figures. Anyone with information or books to sell can write him at: R R 1, Box 168A, Stonington CT 06378

(Anybody wishing to contribute to the personal column in subsequent issues should write the NY office of ARCE.)

Additions And/Or Corrections

The title of Michael Jone's grant as listed in NARCE 138 should have been listed as "The Ptah Temple at Memphis in Post Ramasside Times," and his affiliation should have been with The American Research Center in Egypt.

RESEARCH ON ANCIENT DIET

At the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, we are undertaking a three year project designed to answer questions about past diet and health. We are specifically interested in the analysis of ancient human gut contents and coprolites from Egypt and Nubia and are trying to trace excavators who might have access to these types of samples. Anyone interested in these aspects of past subsistence who has samples that could be made available to us are invited to contact:

T.G. Holden
Institute of Archaeology
31-34 Gordon Square
London, WC1H 0PY
Great Britain

NEW ARCE PUBLICATIONS

THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT

Volume 22 (1985) was published in February, and this thick issue (236 pp.), with numerous illustrations, blends Egyptological studies with research reports on Islamic and modern Egypt. Edited by Dr. John L. Foster, Volume 23 (1986) is in press, and we are hopeful that *JARCE* will become up-to-date by the end of the year.

GREEK POTTERY FROM NAUKRATIS IN EGYPTIAN MUSEUMS

Marjorie Susan Venit
Ancient Naukratis Series: Volume 4

The archaeological site of Naukratis, the most important Greek settlement in Egypt in the first half of the first millennium B.C., has posed numerous problems to the historian, the archaeologist, and the art historian. The pottery, which may be localized to a high degree, is at once an indicator of specific people (traders, if not settlers), their stage of development, chronology, and relationships not available from written records. This study makes available the vast amount of unpublished ceramic material from Naukratis that resides in Egyptian museums. The introduction provides a rationale for classification of fragments: there follows a descriptive catalog of each fragment.

Forthcoming Winter 1987 ca. 300 pp. 480 line drawings; 120 halftones ca. \$40.00

FUSTAT-C

Fustat Expedition, Final Report, Volume 2
Wladyslaw Kubiak and George T. Scanlon
With Contributions by Michael Bates, Boyce Driskell, Louise Mackie, and D.S. Richards

The two-month excavation in 1980 yielded unique evidence of proletarian housing and the first substantial cache of textile fragments and written documents during nine years' work at Fustat. Numismatic evidence providing a dating span of ca. A.D. 700-1092 permits a major reassessment of posited chronology and new insight into the socio-economic life of medieval Cairo.

Forthcoming Winter 1987 ca 100 pp. Plates Price not set

CONTRIBUTORS TO THE ARCE ENDOWMENT AND LIBRARY FUND, 1987-88

During the recent subscription renewals appeal, we asked members to contribute additional sums in support of the ARCE Endowment and of the Library of the Cairo Center. Listed below are the names of members who responded to the appeal. We are exceedingly grateful for the response, which has yielded to date \$505 for the Endowment and \$785 for the Library.

The following have contributed to the Endowment Fund:

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\$26 to \$100

Norma Kershaw
Gerald Vincent

\$25 and Less

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M. D. Schwartz
Louise Shier
Elinor Smith
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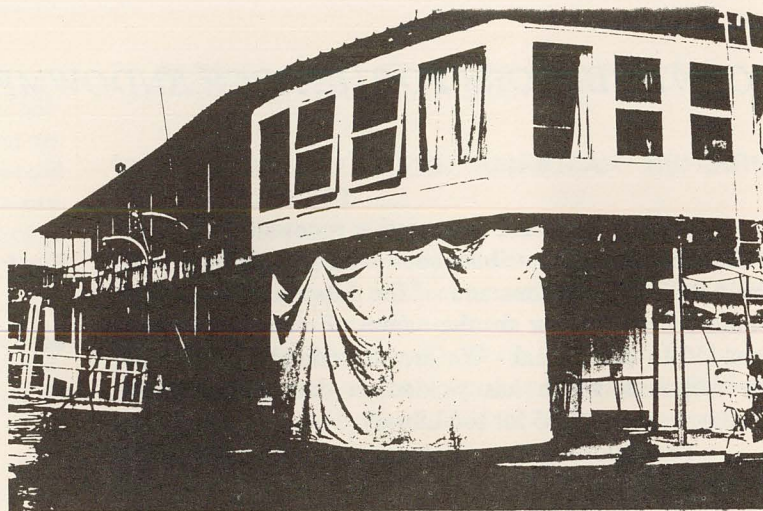
The following have contributed to the Library Fund:

\$26 to \$100

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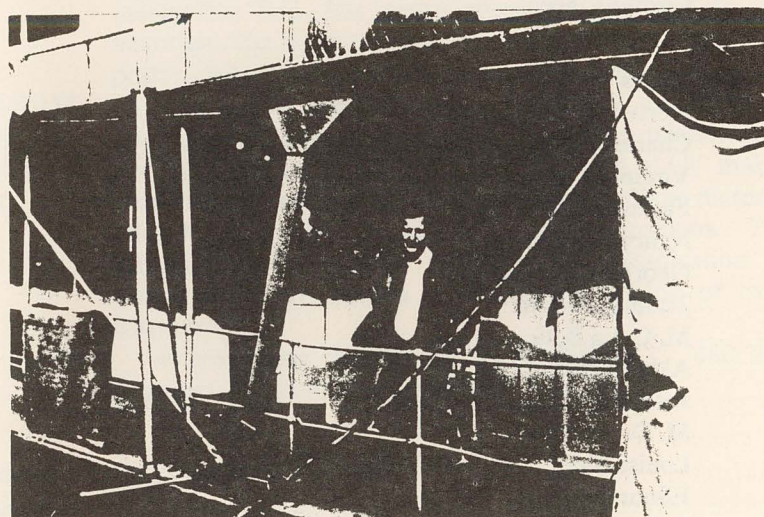
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Emily Teeter
Deborah L. Thompson
Lynn Van Duyne
Prescott J. Van Horn
Jay Walz
Dolores Ward
Marian Robertson Wilson
Omar Zaher



(Top) The Fostat has begun to host numerous visiting ARCE members and even an archaeological expedition or two. Last summer The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, used it as its Cairo base.
(Bottom) Bob Betts is on the lower deck, near the entrance to the dining room.



Repairing the gate to the S.S. Fostat, summer of 1987. On the plinth, "S.S. Fostat" is lit at night and brightly visible.



ARCE Cairo office received a gift of a card file from the American University in Cairo. Here, Fellows Paula Sanders and Larry Berman consult it.

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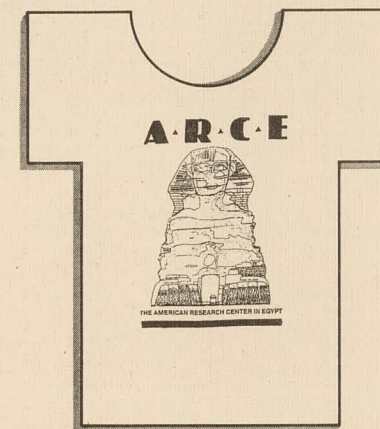
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